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NOTES ON NORTH AMERICAN REGIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES[1]

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MANY years ago I embarked quite light-heartedly and almost casually on the project of compiling a critical bibliography of books, broadsides, and maps relating to Texas, 1795-1845. I was fascinated by the history of the early colonization of Texas, with the drama of its revolution from Mexico and the successful establishment of its Republic. Raines[2] in his *Bibliography of Texas* had taken three and a half centuries (1536-1896) for his field. I proposed to limit myself to an interesting half-century. I did not know then what Dr. Paltsits had said many years ago, "Any one can compile a list, many can make a catalogue, but very few can agonize to bring forth a bibliography."[3] In my state of complete bibliographical innocence it appeared to be a comparatively simple task, for the spare time of

[1] Read at the Society's meeting held in New York City, June 29, 1942.

[2] *A Bibliography of Texas: being a descriptive List of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents relating to Texas in Print and in Manuscript since 1536 . . . Austin, 1896.*

[3] Quoted from an earlier address by Victor Hugo Paltsits in his *Bibliography, the Correct Description of Books,* in the *Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, Washington, D. C., 1939,* New York, 1939, p. 38.

a busy life, to assemble the contemporary material printed in or relating to Texas for that half-century and to describe it with critical notes.

What then did this idle task for a winter's evening turn out to be? For the period, Raines cites around 200 titles. For the same period, I have assembled, and am now "agonizing" with, upwards of 1,400.

I cite these personal experiences as a warning to the unwary who may feel that destiny has called on them to write the bibliography of some interesting period of a state or region, and as a reason for making some comments on the various types of regional bibliographies relating to North America which my own activities have caused me to study.

One more or less fundamental question has to be decided before a regional bibliography is attempted. Shall it merely list titles without critical notes, or shall the period or the method of treatment be so restricted that the contents of the books can be briefly described and their historical or bibliographical significance discussed? In other words, shall the bibliography be an end in itself, or just a list where a person knowing the title can check the collation and learn where copies may be found? In a broad sense all regional bibliographies fall into one or the other of these two categories.

In this paper, in which I make a quick survey of North American regional bibliographies and discuss some of their problems, I suggest that

(1) The contents of books listed should be indicated and their significance pointed out.

(2) The books listed should be described sufficiently to identify perfect copies.

(3) The period dealt with by an inclusive regional bibliography should have unity and significance.

(4) In modern periods lacking such unity and significance a subject bibliography of an interesting phase of a region should replace inclusive bibliographies of all phases of a region.

On the first point, I must record that there are great bibliographers who hold that the province of bibliography is to describe the form of books and not their contents. Dr. Pollard decries the tendency of French bibliographers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to appraise the value of the books they record, and by way of example says that "the knowledge of chemistry and of its history needed to make a good bibliography of chemistry is altogether extrinsic to bibliography itself."[4] Our own Dr. Paltsits, in emphasizing the importance of analyzing the form of the book, says "bibliography is the correct description of books, and not all the many other things unmercifully linked with it."[5] In the same address he quotes with apparent approval a statement of Dr. Greg, President of The Bibliographical Society [of London], "bibliography has nothing to do with the subject-matter of books, but only with their formal aspect."

I like to think, however, that these authorities were concerned with bibliography in its larger aspects and not with the comparatively restricted field of regional bibliography. Perhaps it comes down to a question of definition, in which there is confusion in the bibliographical world.

Interesting questions of practice arise in meeting the requirement that books should be sufficiently described to identify perfect copies. Shall the titles of nineteenth-century books be lined and the width as well as the height of the page be given? This practice has often been followed in the recent American Imprints Inventory series of regional bibliographies. Shall we go further and as a matter of course give the collation by signatures as Mr.

[4] In his article, *Bibliography and Bibliology*, in the eleventh edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, New York, 1910.

[5] In his *Bibliography, the Correct Description of Books*, already cited, p. 39.

Cole did in the Church catalogue of Americana? Theoretically, titles should be lined on the chance that thereby variant issues may be discovered. As a practical matter, however, it seems to me desirable to line the titles of nineteenth-century books, and give their collations by signatures, only in the rare cases in which this helps the bibliographer to identify issues. Indeed, if every title is lined, there is the risk of printers' errors which would cause more trouble in indicating non-existent variant issues, than could be avoided by the discovery, from such lining, of actual variants not known to the bibliographer.

To me it seems far more important, except in the unusual case, to note printed wrappers and to identify maps, than to line titles and list signatures. I have been told that Joseph Sabin frequently clipped wrapper titles to use as copy for the printer. Sabin's *Dictionary* only occasionally mentions printed wrappers and the standard catalogue rules do not call for their inclusion in a collation. In the case of maps the conventional book catalogue card does not even pretend to give an adequate description. At the very least the map, or maps, should be described with sufficient detail to enable one owning the book to tell whether it has the right map, and the presence or absence of printed wrappers often makes a great difference in the value of a book.

While it is understandable that the conventional catalogues should merely say "map" or "folding map," and nothing more, there is another practice of the Library of Congress and the American Library Association which in its results is really distressing. For reasons which are undoubtedly good, anyone checking a Library of Congress card for the collation of a book issued in two or more volumes is met with the bland statement, "2v." or the like, but no collation.

While the location of copies is not a part of the description of books, a standard rather than a haphazard method of locating copies adds considerably to the usefulness of a regional bibliography. Though it is not especially helpful to list a string of a

dozen locations after an unimportant title, it would be helpful to state and follow a definite procedure in checking titles against the holdings of certain libraries. I would suggest that as a matter of routine every title in a regional bibliography should be checked not only against the holdings of at least three of our great libraries, Library of Congress, New York Public, and Harvard, but also against the leading library or libraries of the region under study, and, as goes without saying, against any library known to have an unusual collection of the titles dealt with. If this definite procedure is stated and followed, the absence as well as the presence of a location will have significance.

I have suggested that the period dealt with by an inclusive bibliography should have unity and significance, and that in modern periods lacking such unity and significance subject bibliographies of an interesting phase of a region should take the place of an inclusive bibliography of all phases of a region. I know of no better way to illustrate these principles than by citing great critical bibliographies which follow them. These bibliographies have various methods of approach. Sometimes they are concerned only with books printed in a region, or again with contemporary books about a region. Sometimes, when inclusive bibliographies would be cumbersome, they survey some specific regional subject.

For the listing and discussion of imprints of a region there are Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1886,[6] with notes on 116 titles; Lawrence C. Wroth's *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland 1686-1776*, Baltimore, 1922, with notes on 392 titles; and Wilberforce Eames's *The First Year of Printing in New-York, May, 1693 to April, 1694*, New York, 1928, with notes on 38 titles. Since Garcia Icazbalceta's time many new sixteenth-century Mexican imprints have been discovered, mostly comparatively unimportant publications for

[6] *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI Primera Parte. Catálogo razonado de Libros impresos en México de 1539 á 1600. Con biografías de autores y otras illustraciones. Precedido de una Noticia acerca de la Introducción de la Imprenta en México.* México, 1886.

the period 1590-1599, but these discoveries in no way detract from the pre-eminence of his pioneer study. Though the titles listed are few by comparison with the thousands given in some state bibliographies to which I later refer, for discussion of imprints of a region these three works have never been surpassed.

For bibliographies about a region, if a scholar wishes to learn (let us say) about the early books written on the Spanish Southwest, he must turn to Henry R. Wagner's *The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794 an Annotated Bibliography*, Berkeley, California, 1924.[7] For early books on New France or Colonial Virginia the indispensable authorities are Henry Harrisse's *Notes sur la Nouvelle France 1545-1700* . . . Paris, 1872,[8] and William Clayton-Torrence's *A Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia*, Richmond, 1908, 1910.[9] What Randolph Adams once wrote about Harrisse illustrates what a regional bibliography can be at its best, "He did not write history — he compiled lists. But such lists! He had a genius for pointing out exactly what a book was and how it added to the sum total of human knowledge."[10]

When, as is the case of more modern periods, an inclusive regional list would be so vast as to lack unity and significance, the skillful bibliographer turns to a subject instead. An outstanding example of a treatment of an interesting phase of a region is given by Henry R. Wagner's stimulating subject bibliography, *The Plains and the Rockies a Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure 1800-1865*, San Francisco, 1921.[11]

[7] A second edition in two volumes was published by the Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1937, with some additional titles.

[8] *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays adjacents 1545-1700* . . . Paris, 1872. Under *Bibliographie* Harrisse has notes on 187 titles, with the same number in his section *Cartographie*. This is followed by 459 *Notes Historiques et Documentaires*.

[9] Published in two sections as parts of the *Report of the Librarian of the Virginia State Library* for 1908 and 1909.

[10] *Three Americanists*. Philadelphia, 1939, p. 24.

[11] A second edition "revised and extended" by Charles L. Camp was published in San Francisco in 1937, with 428 titles.

Each one of these regional bibliographies has an essential unity, either through its choice of period or choice of subject. Each one deals with a significant period or subject as well. Each one was written by a man steeped in the history of the region and familiar with the contents of the books he listed. In each one the contents are indicated, and if significant are appraised. While Dr. Pollard might regard them as an exaggeration of the scope of bibliography,[12] each one gives the definitive survey of the contemporary material on the region or subject with which it deals. In my opinion they are the classics of regional bibliography and models for later bibliographers to follow.

Before discussing bibliographies which are primarily lists of books, I must mention two works from which a regional bibliographer can also learn much. One is Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* Boston, 1884-1889. Here the notes contain such scholarly bibliographical descriptions of sources that George Parker Winship once whimsically suggested getting out a new edition of Winsor which would include the notes and exclude the narrative.

The other is Larned's *Literature of American History a Bibliographical Guide.*[13] Here Larned with the aid of a group of distinguished scholars produced a body of critical notes which are a model to this day. In the preface there is a statement by Mr. Iles about lists of books, which all can consider with profit. It reads (somewhat condensed):

> A merchant is not content with a mere list of his assets; he deems it of no worth until each item has been carefully valued. So I take it, the trustees of literature should set before the public not catalogues merely, but also a judicious discrimination of the more from the less valuable stores in their keeping.

It is only rarely that we find regional bibliographies of the type I have been describing. Many of them are merely lists of titles compiled from catalogue entries. These compilations, however,

[12] In Dr. Pollard's article previously cited.

[13] Published for the American Library Association, Boston, 1902.

uninteresting as they may be to read, have their value. If their collations are accurate, they are a distinct help to the librarian, collector, or bookseller who wishes to check the collation of a book he already owns or contemplates buying. If accompanied by good subject indices, they aid the historian in his search for raw material. If they adequately locate copies, their usefulness is greatly increased. Finally if, as is the case with the American Imprints Inventory series and Evans,[14] the titles are arranged chronologically, a valuable conspectus is given of the activities of a region as represented by its printing, with each year a unit.

There are several compilations, with a minimum of critical notes, of books printed in or relating to a state. In two of these lists, Floyd B. Streeter's *Michigan*[15] and Earl G. Swem's *Virginia*,[16] the defects of an alphabetical arrangement are mitigated by excellent indices. Streeter's *Michigan* extends to July 1, 1917, with 7,072 titles for books and pamphlets alone, and with 2,464 titles listed continuously under entries beginning with the word Michigan. This is a compilation of catalogue cards in the Library of Congress and certain Michigan libraries. In his collations Mr. Streeter does not give sizes and apparently does not mention maps. There is an elaborate subject index. For printing in Michigan to 1850 Streeter is entirely superseded by McMurtrie's *Early Printing in Michigan . . . 1796-1850*, Chicago, 1931. Mr. Swem's list extends to October 1, 1915, and, as indicated by the full title, is limited to books in the Virginia State Library. There is an excellent index with a valuable feature in its reference to the im-

[14] *American Bibliography a Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1820 with Bibliographical and Biographical Notes.* Chicago, 1903-1934.

[15] *Michigan Bibliography a partial Catalogue of Books, Maps, Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Materials relating to the . . . History of Michigan from earliest times to July 1, 1917.* Lansing, 1921.

[16] *A Bibliography of Virginia Part I. Containing the Titles of Books in the Virginia State Library which relate to Virginia and Virginians, the Titles of those Books Written by Virginians and of those Printed in Virginia.* Richmond, Va., 1916.

prints of various towns. Part II of Swem contains the titles of the printed Official Documents of the Commonwealth, 1776-1916, chronologically arranged, with upwards of 22,000 numbered entries and some useful appendices.[17]

Perhaps the best effort so far made on an inclusive state bibliography dealing not only with books about the state, but also with its imprints, is Peter G. Thomson's *Bibliography of Ohio,* Cincinnati, 1880.[18] Thomson's *Ohio* is far more than a compilation of entries for he has appended brief critical notes to a great many of his 1,400 titles. His work is still indispensable.[19]

[17] Two or three other compilations of this type may be mentioned. One is Joseph Williamson's *A Bibliography of the State of Maine from the Earliest Period to 1891.* In two Volumes. Portland . . . 1896. Mr. Williamson aimed at giving not only the "full title of every book, pamphlet, and reputable magazine article at any time printed in or having reference to Maine" but also of all titles "of which the authors were, at the time of writing or publishing, residents within the state." Though there are 11,032 entries there is no index! On rare occasions a short descriptive note may be found. Two others are Thomas M. Owen's *A Bibliography of Alabama,* contained in the annual report of the American Historical Association for 1897, pp. 777-1,248, Washington, 1898; and his *A Bibliography of Mississippi,* containing in Vol. I of the annual report of the American Historical Association for 1899, pp. 633-828, Washington, 1900 (no index). The few descriptive notes in these two lists are hardly enough to take them out of the classification of compilations of entries.

[18] *A Bibliography of the State of Ohio. Being a Catalogue of the Books and Pamphlets relating to the History of the State. With Collations and Bibliographical and Critical Notes . . . and a Complete Index by Subjects.* Cincinnati: Published by the Author, 1880.

[19] Three other inclusive state bibliographies, all with alphabetical arrangement and no numbering of titles, contain enough descriptive or, in the case of Gilman's *Bibliography of Vermont,* enough biographical notes to take them out of the class of catalogue entry compilations, but they all suffer greatly from attempting to cover too much ground. One is Raines's *Bibliography of Texas, 1536-1896,* Austin, Texas, 1896, already mentioned. Marcus D. Gilman's *The Bibliography of Vermont or a List of Books and Pamphlets relating in any way to the State. With Biographical and other Notes,* Burlington, 1897, goes to about 1889, the year of his death, has few if any descriptive or historical notes, but contains many useful biographical notes. Another useful feature of Gilman is a detailed history in 14 octavo pages of small print, two columns to the page, entered alphabetically under "Printing in Vermont." Unfortunately, there is no index. For a guess there are well over 3,000 titles. In 1864 John Russell Bartlett, known to collectors of Western Americana for his *Personal Narrative of Explorations . . . connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission . . .* New York, 1854, published at Providence his *Bibliography of Rhode Island. A Catalogue of Books and other publications relating to the State of Rhode Island, with Notes, Historical, Biographical and Critical.* Though Bartlett has no index, his titles are well arranged and he has some interesting notes. He was ahead

The check-lists of the American Imprints Inventory which embrace the early imprints of a region, with the titles listed by years and an alphabetical arrangement for each year, and with all known locations after each entry, are among the best examples of compilations of catalogue entries. Compilations though they may be, the entries are the product of the greatest mass effort in the search for titles the world has ever seen. For the significant and unified early years of printing in an area they are most useful to scholars and collectors, even though the contents of the books are not indicated and the important ones are not appraised.

These check-lists are due, as Edward P. Alexander of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has so aptly pointed out,[20] "to the Gargantuan imagination and energy of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie." It was McMurtrie, supported by Luther Evans, who conceived and pushed to a successful conclusion the idea of training and using hundreds of W.P.A. workers to assemble the titles making up the American Imprints Inventory series from the libraries of the country, large and small. The result in the number of interesting early imprints turned up has been astonishing.[21]

To Mr. McMurtrie's individual efforts we are indebted for an interesting series of studies of the beginnings of printing in various states and localities. His account and listing of early printing

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of his time in listing a dozen maps under the heading "maps," a feature not present in Thomson's *Bibliography of Ohio* published over fifteen years later.

[20] In Foreword to *American Imprints Inventory No. 23 A Check List of Wisconsin Imprints 1833-1849*, Madison, 1942.

[21] The American Imprints Inventory series has been preceded by useful earlier compilations of regional check-lists such as George Parker Winship's *Rhode Island Imprints . . . between 1727 and 1800*, Providence, 1914, and Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, Philadelphia, 1885-1886. Hildeburn so rarely gives descriptive notes that his useful work can, I think, be properly described as a check-list. Both Winship and Hildeburn list their titles chronologically and both give locations, though apparently not of all the copies known to them. Trumbull's *List of Books printed in Connecticut 1709-1800*, published in 1904, has an alphabetical arrangement and gives no locations. A chronological list at the end gives the entry numbers of the books printed each year.

in Colorado,[22] and in Montana,[23] should be especially mentioned.

There can be only praise for the recording by the American Imprints Inventory, and by Mr. McMurtrie personally, of the early years of printing in so many areas of the United States. The advisability of the extension of this record by the Imprints Inventory into the later years, as for example for Kansas through 1876 and for Chicago to the Great Fire, presents an interesting question, a question also applicable to the other state bibliographies I have mentioned.

It is generally recognized that it is only for the early years of printing in a region that imprints, strictly as imprints, are significant or even desirable for large general libraries. For example, while the imprints of Buffalo through 1825 and of (say) Arizona through 1865 are significant merely as imprints, yet New York City, Boston or Philadelphia imprints for the earliest of these dates have, merely as imprints, only the slightest interest. On the other hand it is obvious that pamphlets whose contents are of great interest as contemporary source material were issued in large eastern cities in the fifties and sixties. For example, a hitherto unknown Pike's Peak Guide printed in New York in 1859 was discovered last month and quickly sold to a private collector for $900. A book on Montana printed in New York in 1865—Stuart's *Montana,* which could be bought in the 1890's for $1.50, sold in the roaring twenties for $1,500. Innumerable other examples could be given covering a wide range of interests.

Shall we then promote the publication of these lengthy inclusive lists of comparatively modern books, published in periods of no especial significance, because every now and then a laborious search will unearth a nugget? It is my personal opinion that we

[22] *Early Printing in Colorado with a bibliography of the issues of the press, 1859 to 1876 . . . and a record . . . of Colorado territorial newspapers by Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen . . .* Denver, 1935.

[23] *Montana Imprints 1864-1880 Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Broadsides printed within the Area now Constituting the State of Montana.* Chicago, 1937.

should not. We are rapidly approaching a situation where libraries and scholars instead of being masters of their books are their slaves. I wish that in this paper I had time to show how beautifully José Ortega y Gasset developed the problem created by the ever increasing torrent of books in his inaugural address at the Second International Congress of Libraries and Bibliography at Madrid in May 1935.[24] Ortega proposed two solutions for this problem. The first, which is a challenge to members of this Society, called on bibliographers for the same advance in bibliographical technique that librarians have made over the centuries in the art of cataloguing. The second, which I hope we will never have to consider, was a bold suggestion that the state should determine what books could and should be published. In his first solution Ortega apparently had in mind critical or, to use an expression of J. Christian Bay,[25] "evaluative" bibliographies of the type I took for examples at the beginning of this paper. Whatever may be the solution to the problem of the flood of books, a problem which has resulted in what Andrew D. Osborn of the Harvard College Library calls *The Crisis in Cataloging*,[26] it will not be solved by the publication of lists of the titles of all books printed in or about Virginia or Michigan to 1915 or 1917. In the field of regional bibliography we do not need more lists of titles but, rather, better lists of books, lists on significant periods or subjects which tell the scholar and the librarian something about the books themselves.

Our intellectual interests change from generation to generation. The neglected books of former times are the corner stones of to-day. What we now neglect will be sought for to-morrow.

[24] This address delivered by Ortega in French is referred to by Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, in his annual report for 1941, at pp. 15 and 16. A separate from *Archives et Bibliothèques* was published at Paris in 1935. It has not yet been published in English.

[25] In his paper, *Book Selection for a Scientific and Technical Reference Library*, in *The Fortune of Books*, Chicago, 1941, p. 156.

[26] A paper read before the American Library Institute, June 21, 1941.

To me it seems far more useful to make critical studies of what interests us to-day rather than non-critical lists of everything published east of the Mississippi into the nineteenth century.

While there are not so many significant periods left to be dealt with by inclusive bibliographies, and I like to think that the half-century of Texas history ending in 1845 is such a period, there are endless opportunities for critical regional subject bibliographies. The subject may be as broad as a new treatment of eighteenth-century books printed in Europe relating to the French and Indian War, or even to our War of the Revolution, or as restricted as a listing and discussion of the early imprints of a village. Both have unity and both serve a purpose. A good example of such a regional bibliography was published this month in The New York Public Library *Bulletin* (for June, 1942), Saro Riccardi's *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Art and Architecture A Selective Annotated Bibliography.* If the subject does not lend itself to a critical bibliography, there can be informative lists on special subjects even though the critical notes are few, such as Frank Monaghan's *French Travellers in the United States 1768-1932*, New York, 1933, and Thomas R. Thomson's *Check List of Publications on American Railroads before 1841*, New York, 1941. These are further examples of the interesting bibliographies issued from time to time by The New York Public Library. An example in a field closely allied to bibliography is Swem's *Virginia Historical Index*, Roanoke, Virginia, 1934-1936, a most valuable two-volume analysis of the information relating to Virginia and the Virginians from Hening's *Statutes* and other sources.

Joseph Sabin's *A Dictionary of Books relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time*, New York, 1868-1936, with 106,413 numbered entries in twenty-nine thick volumes, and Evans,[27] completed in twelve volumes through the letter M of 1799 imprints, with 35,854 entries, are massive regional bibliographies which must be discussed by themselves.

[27] See footnote 14 for full title.

The history of Sabin's noble undertaking, continued by Wilberforce Eames and completed by R. W. G. Vail, Elizabeth Greene and Marjorie Watkins, has been told by Mr. Vail in a paper read before this Society.[28]

Sabin began his work in 1856, or over eighty-five years ago, when knowledge of books relating to America was only a fraction of what it is to-day. It is apparent now that much of the unity which his subject then seemed to have no longer exists. For the large body of American imprints to 1799 Sabin has been quite largely superseded by Evans, and by new studies in American imprints to which I will refer in a moment. Its usefulness to scholars as a regional bibliography is hampered by its alphabetical arrangement, which requires an examination of twenty-nine volumes to locate all the pertinent titles on a subject or region. On the other hand, there are some marvelous notes by Mr. Eames on special subjects, such as Vespucci and the editions of Captain John Smith, with other interesting notes in places throughout the work, and for checking collations and, in its later parts, locations, it is still an invaluable tool. Though the trend of present-day bibliographies is quite properly towards specialization, Sabin and his successors, staunchly supported by Harry Miller Lydenberg, have rendered great service to the cause of American scholarship. Our own Bibliographical Society of America can justly be proud of the minor part it has played in the completion of this monumental bibliography.

Evans commenced his great work about forty years after Sabin, and adopted a chronological arrangement which makes all the difference in the world in the usefulness of the two works. By this chronological arrangement anyone consulting Evans can get a cross-section of the intellectual interests of each year of our early history. How even more interesting and valuable such a conspectus can be, if accompanied by informative notes (these are

[28] *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 31, Part 1, 1937.

not present in Evans), is shown by Lawrence C. Wroth's *An American Bookshelf 1755*, Philadelphia, 1934.

Gradually studies made of our large collections, such as Willard O. Waters's listing of titles in the Huntington Library not in Evans,[29] and regional surveys of American colonial imprints, such as McMurtrie's *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints 1749-1800*, Chapel Hill, 1938, are bringing to light numerous titles not listed by Evans. If our other great libraries would follow the example of the Huntington Library and list their titles not in Evans, it would be a comparatively simple, and more or less clerical, task to assemble the new material in one or more volumes and issue it as a supplement, uniformly bound, to Evans. It would also be comparatively simple to include in this proposed supplement a consolidation of the separate indices in each of the present twelve volumes of Evans. So much effort has already gone into Evans that this supplement, which would result in a completed whole, with a distinct year-by-year unity, would seem to be a desirable project.

While new studies are closing the gaps in Evans, no similar work, as far as I know, is being done on eighteenth-century European books relating to North America not listed by Sabin. There is a need here, not so much for an inclusive new listing without comment of all eighteenth-century European books on North America, as for a succession of critical bibliographical studies of European books on various phases of our eighteenth-century history. These restricted surveys would have a unity which would be lacking in the larger but less critical undertaking.

What conclusions then may be drawn from this survey of the regional bibliographies of North America and from Ortega y Gasset's warning that books which were our servants are becoming our masters? To me it seems inescapable that the day for inclusive and largely uncritical regional lists of books has passed.

[29] In *Huntington Library Bulletin* No. 3, February, 1933, pp. [1]-95, listing 736 titles.

Conditions in the world of scholarship to-day are utterly different from those confronting Sabin eighty-five years ago. Then he could with confidence take all books relating to America for his field. To-day the material on individual phases of our history well-nigh overwhelms the scholar. Wholesale republication by regional bibliographers of the catalogue cards of our libraries seems but a faltering step towards meeting present conditions. Let us have, instead, more critical bibliographical studies of significant periods or subjects of the type produced by the masters who have left us — Garcia Icazbalceta, Harrisse and Eames. Then indeed will contemporary books of past periods be our servants and not our masters.

PRESS CORRECTIONS IN SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY QUARTOS[1]

By EDWIN WOLF 2ND

I am greatly indebted, for many suggestions and corrections, to Dr. W. W. Greg, Dr. James A. McManaway, Dr. Charlton Hinman and William A. Jackson, who read over this paper in various stages of its development, and gave me the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

AS a result of accumulated research it is now apparent to all bibliographers that variant readings occur with considerable frequency in almost any Elizabethan or Jacobean book. These variants are not successive issues of a book; they are the results of stop-press corrections. They are part of the normal and usual printing of a book. Considerable confusion has arisen because cataloguers and bibliographers are rather tempted to note and describe first, second and third *issues*, when in reality they are merely dealing with individual formes in varying stages of correctness. "The probability of finding such variants is very great," wrote McKerrow,[2] "and cannot be neglected by any careful editor." I will intensify that: the probability of not finding them is comparatively small.

It is also realized to-day that most individual copies of any book do not represent the collation on the part of the original binder of consistent sheets. In other words there was no effort made by the printer to see that the incorrect states of all the sheets were bound together in one copy and the correct states in another.

[1] Read at the Society's meeting held in Boston, June 23, 1941.

[2] R. B. McKerrow. *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 1927, p. 209.

Two exceptions to the generality, that only by the mathematical laws of permutations and combinations do we find a consistent copy of a book, are early pulls kept by a printer as his prerogative,[3] and rare instances of some seventeenth-century books which contain picked sheets with the maximum amount of correction, selected and bound for presention by the author or printer. In partial substantiation of this I found that, out of fifty-six miscellaneous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century quarto plays in which there were two or more variant formes, forty-seven were mixed and nine consistent. The figures are even more heavily weighted in favor of finding mixed copies when it is realized that in any of the consistent examples there are probably other variant formes to be found in other copies of the same book which I have not seen. We note, for instance, that not one of the twelve copies of *King Lear* collated by Dr. Greg[4] is wholly consistent.

In all the jumble of variant and invariant formes certain patterns do appear. For instance, in one book we may find that corrections occur in one forme only of a sheet, in another that corrections occur more frequently, but not always, in one forme only, and yet in others that variants occur quite freely in both. Sometimes the incorrect state of the inner forme is printed with the incorrect state of the outer forme, and likewise the correct states are found in agreement, but sometimes they are not consistent. If we assume that there were regular methods of making press-corrections—and I do feel it was part of the routine making of a book—certain circumstances must create these patterns. I suggest that by charting the variants in numbers of copies of one book, we can arrive at a method or choice of methods by which the

[3] Percy Simpson. *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1935, pp. 19 & 150-1, states that it was usual for a printer to keep about twenty-five copies out of an edition of a thousand for himself. Dr. Joseph Q. Adams describes what he considers such a copy in his monograph on *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and Dr. James A. McManaway tells me that an imperfect copy of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* in the Folger Library seems to be a similar example, having all the known earliest readings.

[4] W. W. Greg. *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear,"* 1940, p. 11.

corrections were made. I shall attempt to describe those methods with the resultant patterns formed.

I once thought that one of the questions to be considered was whether proofs were taken off by hand or in the press. Dr Greg[5] believes that there were two steps in the correction of a book, page-galleys and revises. The page-galleys, of which no surviving examples can be positively identified, would have been taken by hand from the type before the pages were set up by formes in the chases, and consequently before any mechanical impressions were made. Therefore these corrections could not have produced the variant readings which we find in such profusion, and are outside the scope of this study. Of course, it is not at all certain if many, most or any books were so corrected.

The second step, or the first if no page-galleys had been taken, would be the correction of the first pulls by formes. I do not know of any direct evidence which tells us whether they were taken for correction from the formes before they were locked up in the chase, or only after they were actually in the press. All extant proofs have the appearance of being press proofs, and so, rather reluctantly, I am forced to concede that most proofs were of this sort.[6] Certain problems would be easier of solution if we could believe a proof had been taken by hand, but until some evidence is produced to show that they were so made, we must presume all revises or forme-proofs were press proofs. The best examples of quarto proofs are the outer forme of B of *The first part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of York and Lancaster*, 1600,[7] the outer forme of D of Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, 1606,[8] and the outer forme of G of Cartwright's *The Royall Slave*, 1639.[9]

[5] W. W. Greg, in a letter to the author, August 1, 1940.

[6] W. A. Jackson pointed out to me that there is no extant evidence to show that proofs were not taken in the press.

[7] Tucker Brooke. *Elizabethan Proof Corrections in "The First Part of the Contention" (1600)*. In: *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 2, 1931.

[8] W. W. Greg. *A Proof Sheet of 1606*. In: *The Library*, XVII, pp. 455-6.

[9] Percy Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

These proofs all exhibit the earlier state of the text which also exists in its corrected state in other copies of the books. It is this type of proof correction which caused the major variations. Where minor corrections occur there is the possibility that they were the result, not of proof-corrections, but of casual changes made by the printer when someone happened to notice an error in the course of printing.

There are definite variables which must be considered. Was one press or were two used in the printing? How many skeletons[10] appear in the book? First let us take the one-press book. Although it has been suggested that the inner forme was more frequently put first in the press because, containing page seven, it would be composed before the outer forme with page eight, it is known there existed no hard and fast rule, and that in the course of printing a single book we find an irregular alternation of inner and outer formes as the first printed forme in different sheets.[11] So, the first forme which I refer to throughout is the forme actually placed first in the press and may be under different circumstances either the inner or outer forme. Now, if only one skeleton is used, we find the first forme placed in the press and the first impression taken for proof-reading. Since economy of time would compel the

[10] The great importance of headlines as bibliographical evidence has only recently been fully realized, due chiefly to the studies of members of the staff of the Folger Library and Dr. Fredson T. Bowers, whose *Notes on Running-Titles as Bibliographical Evidence*, in *The Library*, XIX, pp. 315-38, is the best published statement of the problem. My knowledge of the use of headlines is derived from this article and the two complementary papers delivered by Dr. Bowers and his associate, Dr. Charlton Hinman, at the English Institute, held at Columbia University in 1941. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Hinman for his help in my paper. Throughout I have used the definitions set forth by Dr. Bowers: "When the term *skeleton* is used it will indicate the imposed cross-bars, furniture, and running-titles of a forme. The word *forme* will be used for the skeleton with its letter-press and chase."

[11] The general rule in cases where only one variant forme is found, as may be seen from a study of the methods described, is: the forme first placed in the press is the forme first through the press and is invariant; so that in cases where an inner forme is variant and the outer invariant, the outer would probably have gone to press first, and vice versa. In *King Lear* we find the following variant formes: inner C (in three states), outer D, outer E, inner F, outer G, inner H, and outer and inner K.

printer to continue printing, rather than wait for corrected proof, a certain number of impressions are made before the corrector has finished his work. When the corrected proofs are ready, the press is stopped, the corrections made in the type, and the printing resumed. The same procedure is followed with the second forme, so that we could find variant states of both formes, the proportion of incorrect to correct depending on the length of time taken by the corrector. Since it was usual to perfect the sheets in the order in which they were printed, we shall find the incorrect state of the first forme perfected with the incorrect state of the second forme, and the same for the correct states. In other words, consistency in states within the sheet would be usual.

If two skeletons are used the process is more complicated. The method of press correction, without consideration of the number of skeletons used, has been described by Greg[12] with reference to the printing of *King Lear*, 1608, and amended with regard to *Othello*, 1622, by Hinman[13] who points out that the use of only two skeletons in the printing of that book make necessary certain changes in the Greg theory. The first forme is placed in the press, an impression taken for correction, and printing begun with the uncorrected type. Meanwhile the second skeleton is stripped from the last printed forme of the previous sheet and is made available for the second forme. As soon as this is ready, the press is stopped, the second forme substituted for the first forme, a proof taken for correction, and printing continued with the still uncorrected second forme. We have at this point a certain small number of impressions of the incorrect first forme already printed. The corrections in the first forme will be first finished;

[12] W. W. Greg. *The Variants in the First Quarto of "King Lear,"* 1940, chap. IV.

[13] Charlton Hinman in his paper delivered at the English Institute, Columbia University, 1941. It should be here noted that although enough headlines existed in *King Lear* for three complete skeletons, they were used with such irregularity that the printing sometimes follows the two-skeleton method and sometimes the three-skeleton method. The methods which I describe are the ideals, and divergence from the ideal changes the pattern accordingly.

the type lying idle on the table will be rectified; and again the press will be stopped and the formes interchanged. The second forme will be idle, therefore, when the corrector comes back with its proof, and the corrections will be incorporated before the requisite number of impressions of the corrected first forme are finished. As a result we shall find very few impressions of the incorrect first forme and rather more impressions of the incorrect second forme. Hinman believes that the few examples of the incorrect states of the first formes of *Othello*[14] have been lost, for we have extant between one and two per cent of the total edition, and it would be only by a mathematically rare chance that any of the extant copies would contain the incorrect first formes. Greg, not taking into account the fact that the second forme had to stand idle a short while until the skeleton was made available, felt that no impressions were made of the incorrect first forme except for the proof pull. The Greg theory is perfectly applicable to the book where three skeletons were used, as will be shown. In the case of two skeletons, we shall find with regard to agreement or disagreement within the sheet that, since the first impressions of the first forme would still have been wet when the second forme was substituted on the press, the first impressions of the second forme would be made on a clean sheet. Consequently copies would exist in three states, with the incorrect first forme and the correct second forme (excessively rare), with the correct first forme and the incorrect second forme (in a few copies), and with both formes correct (usual).

If three or more skeletons are used the Greg theory can operate perfectly. The first forme is put in the press and a proof impression made. The second forme is put in immediately thereafter, since no wait is necessary for a skeleton, a proof made, and printing continued. When the proofs are returned, either the correc-

[14] Hinman has collated 13 copies of an edition of about 1250, and finds the following formes variant: inner C, outer H (in three states), inner I, and outer K.

tions are made in the second forme which is still in the press[15] and the printing resumed with the corrected type, or the corrections are made first to the first forme which lies idle and which is then substituted for the second forme in the press. In either event the result is the same. We find both correct and incorrect examples of the second forme, but only correct examples of the first forme. Here no question can arise about agreement within sheets, for they will contain the variant forme in either of its two states and the invariant forme always correct.

If two presses are used in printing the book, two methods of production must be considered. By one, both presses work simultaneously, each printing a different forme and perfecting the product of the other approximately halfway through the edition.[16] By the other, one press begins with the first forme and the other perfects, as soon as the ink is dry, with the second forme. Of course, in a two-press job at least two skeletons must be used.

Let us begin with the method of simultaneous printing with two skeletons in use. Both presses begin printing and send the first impressions for correction, meanwhile turning out further uncorrected impressions. When the proofs are available the presses are stopped, corrections made and the printing resumed with the corrected type. We shall always find both formes variant. Suppose that the edition consists of 1,000 copies and that one-quarter of the sheets have been printed when corrections are brought back. In the press containing the type of the first forme we begin printing on blank sheets, and the first 250 impressions are incorrect, the next 250 sheets correct. At this point the pile of fresh sheets will be exhausted and the press must begin to print on the

[15] This method is described by Greg in connection with the inner forme of C of *King Lear* where the changes were minor. It can apply in any instance where comparatively slight changes were made, and would change the usual order described in note 11 so that the forme placed first on the press would be the last through the press.

[16] Of course, this is the ideal, and probably few books were ever printed so that the change-over occurred exactly at the halfway mark.

reverse of the sheets already finished by the press containing the second forme. The second-forme press will have printed also 250 incorrect sheets and 250 correct sheets, and the first-forme press perfects those sheets with corrected type. Therefore for the third quarter of the edition the first-forme press will print the corrected first forme on the reverse of the incorrect second forme, and for the last quarter the corrected first forme on the reverse of the corrected second forme. Following exactly the same procedure with the other press the resultant edition will contain 250 copies with the first forme incorrect and the second forme correct, 250 with the first forme correct and the second incorrect, and 500 with both formes correct. The proportions would vary in accordance with the number of impressions taken before the corrections were incorporated. In simultaneous printing no difference would occur if four skeletons were used. The press-work would be faster, since there would be no wait between sheets, but the variant pattern would not change. An even number of skeletons must be used in simultaneous printing, for there would be no practical use for the odd one.

By the other method, with one press perfecting as the ink dries on the product of the other, there is always an overlap after the first sheet. The second-forme press is still finishing the second forme of C when the other press is ready to begin on the first forme of D. Taking sheet D as an example, we find the type of the first forme of D placed in one press as soon as it has finished with the first forme of C. A proof of the first forme of D is then taken, sent to the corrector, and printing continued until the corrected proof is returned, at which time the press is stopped, the corrections made, and printing resumed with the corrected type. The first forme is therefore variant. Meanwhile the second-forme press has to finish the second forme of C. After the printing of sheet A the time between the start of the printing of the first forme and the second will be, under normal conditions, the

time it takes for the ink to dry. Hence when the second-forme press is ready to begin with the second forme of D, the earliest pulls of the first forme of D will be available for perfecting. Presumably the first pull of the second forme will be taken for proofing, and then printing will continue and corrections will be made as in the first forme. The second forme then too will be variant. Since the earliest impressions taken from both presses will be uncorrected and since the earliest impressions of the first forme will be perfected by the earliest of the second, there will generally be agreement within the sheets. This procedure presumes that it takes about the same time to print and correct both formes, which though probably true on the average would have exceptions. By this staggered system it does not matter whether two, three, or four skeletons are used, although three will save no time after the first sheet, whereas four would. The first sheet is an entirely different case, for there is time while the ink of the early sheets of the first forme are drying to make corrections in the type of the second forme before any but a proof pull is taken. That sheet would have a variant first forme and an invariant and correct second forme.[17]

The following chart attempts to show the patterns likely to occur under varying circumstances of printing. As a mean I have assumed, for purposes of demonstration and without supporting evidence, that one-quarter of a book is printed before proof-corrections are incorporated in the type, and that five per cent of the edition is printed before a skeleton becomes available from a preceding sheet. I realize that the figures *per se* are worthless, but they do enable me to show mean proportions and average patterns.

[17] This is also true of any break in the printing, and is equally true of printing on one press with two skeletons. For instance, the resumption of printing after an overnight pause would permit both skeletons to be immediately available.

One press — one skeleton	Both formes variant, 25% of each incorrect	Sheets consistent, 25% with both formes incorrect, 75% with both formes correct
One press — two skeletons	Both formes variant, 5% of first forme incorrect, 25% of second forme incorrect, except for first sheet or a new sheet printed after such a break as an over-night pause, which is as though three skeletons were used	Sheets sometimes inconsistent, 5% with incorrect first forme and correct second forme, 25% with correct first forme and incorrect second forme, 70% with both formes correct, except for first sheet which is as though three skeletons were used
One press — three skeletons or more	Second forme variant, 25% incorrect, first forme invariant	Sheets sometimes inconsistent, 25% with correct first forme and incorrect second forme, 75% with both formes correct
Two presses — simultaneous printing	Both formes variant, 25% of each incorrect	Sheets sometimes inconsistent, 25% with incorrect first forme and correct second forme, 25% with correct first forme and incorrect second forme, 50% with both formes correct
Two presses — staggered printing	Both formes variant, 25% of each incorrect, except for first sheet which will have invariant second forme	Sheets consistent, 25% with both formes incorrect, 75% with both formes correct, except for first sheet which will have 25% with first forme incorrect and second forme correct, 75% with both correct

In every book allowance must be made for unusual occurrences; I am discussing only the normal average job. For instance, we find in sheet K of *King Lear*[18] that a corrected forme had to be further corrected in the course of printing to bring it into agreement with corrections made in the other forme. Furthermore, many variants occur, not from corrections, but from accidents in the press, as described by McKerrow.[19] Certain other factors must

[18] W. W. Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

[19] R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.

be taken into consideration. With only a small percentage of the total edition of most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books extant it is impossible to say that any examination, complete though it may seem, of any number of copies of a book will discover all the possible variants. Many of these books have been rebound within the last hundred years, and while most were taken out of old bindings intact, a few may have been made perfect from two or more imperfect copies, thus destroying the validity of any conclusions that might be reached from them. Another difficulty[20] which must be acknowledged is that of distinguishing, in some cases, an original reading from a correction. Many new errors were made when old ones were corrected, and sometimes it is impossible to tell which are the old and which the new. Certain questions have no explanations other than the psychological ones mentioned by E. K. Chambers[21] in discussing the causes of misprints. He says, "In particular, want of attention is to some extent a factor in all misprints, and may itself be the result either of stupidity or carelessness or self-confidence or haste or fatigue or drink or talkativeness or absorption in alien ideas." No other causes can account for the many instances in which minor corrections are made on a page, when other, and frequently many more, glaring errors appear on the same page and on other pages in the same forme. Occasionally the correction seems as much of an accident as the original misprints.

To summarize the conclusions that may be drawn from this study, we first find that type was corrected by formes. This was originally discovered by McKerrow and has been reiterated and substantiated many times since, but it is reassuring to find a theory constantly reproven. Next, it is obvious that most copies of any book will not be consistently correct or incorrect throughout, and that calling any one, except in extremely rare cases, earlier than any other is an error. There are fewer genuine *issues* in Eliza-

[20] W. W. Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

[21] E. K. Chambers. *William Shakespeare*, 1930, I, p. 177.

bethan and Jacobean books than has been supposed, but there are considerably more *variant states*. Finally, from the patterns into which press-corrections fall we see that in books printed on one press, with the exception of those using only one skeleton,[22] the extant sheets will be found with one forme variant and the other invariant more frequently than with both variant. This is borne out to some extent by figures which result from my examination of eighty-seven sheets from a miscellaneous collection of English plays all of which contain variants. Of these, seventy have one variant forme only to a sheet, seventeen both formes variant.[23] We realize that this would not be true if the plays had been printed by two presses, but most of them at this period were probably the productions of one press only. We further notice that in cases where both formes of a sheet are variant it is far more likely to find the formes consistent than mixed. There were sixty-one instances which I found with both formes variant; of these fifty were consistent, eleven mixed.[24] These are merely theories, hypothetical reconstructions of certain phases of printing, and as theories I submit them, not claiming that they are conclusive in themselves, but hoping rather that they will form part of future investigation.

[22] From available evidence it seems that after about 1600 most books were printed with at least two skeletons, it being a far more economical method of printing.

[23] If I include the easily available figures of Dr. Greg on *King Lear*, 1608, Dr. Hinman on *Othello*, 1622, and Mr. McIlwraith on *The Picture*, 1630, and *The Virgin Martyr*, 1622, the totals would be: in 111 sheets with variants, 90 have one variant forme only, 21 both formes variant.

[24] Again if I add Dr. Greg and Mr. McIlwraith's findings to mine I get: in 100 cases where both formes show variants, 87 are consistent, 13 mixed.

JOHN MEIN, PUBLISHER: AN ESSAY IN BIBLIOGRAPHIC DETECTION

By John Eliot Alden

I.

WHEN, on Thursday, October 18, 1764, the ship *George and James*, Robert Montgomery master, made her way into Boston harbor, seven weeks out of Glasgow, she carried on board two Scotchmen fated to play important rôles in the life of New England during the next few years. Of the couple the more celebrated at the time was Robert Sandeman, the preacher, who had come to America to spread the doctrines of John Glas, whose daughter he had married and whose theology he had espoused.

It was not religion, however, that brought John Mein, the other of the pair, to this country. A more probable reason was the ambitious projects as a bookseller which he did not hesitate to put into action. A native of Edinburgh, he may have had experience in the book trade there which prepared him for his American undertakings. At any event, within a month after his arrival in Boston he had opened a bookstall in Marlborough Street where not only could books be purchased, but also—equally tempting—"excellent bottl'd Bristol beer near two years old." In this first venture Mein had as partner some member of the Sandeman family, but, whoever this may have been, the joint business was dissolved during the early months of the following year.[1]

[1] Isaiah Thomas, in his *History of Printing in America*, Albany, 1874, II, p. 230, says that a nephew of the preacher who was also named Robert was Mein's partner. But, according to the *Sandeman Genealogy*, Edinburgh, 1895, compiled by J. G.

Before the arrival of Mein the leading bookshop in Boston had been that of Rivington and Miller in King Street, the London Bookstore. Possibly because of the illness of Miller, who died in November, 1765, Mein in the autumn of this year was able to take over the shop, newly redecorated and enlarged by his predecessors. He thereupon proceeded to extend his efforts further by establishing the first lending library in Boston.[2] In doing so Mein was undoubtedly inspired by that begun in Edinburgh by the poet Allan Ramsay in 1725, the forerunner of all British circulating libraries.[3] It had by this time been acquired by Alexander Kincaid, the Scottish publisher, with whom Mein at some period had business relations.[4]

As an outgrowth of his lending library Mein entered upon still another field of activity, that of publisher. For upon starting his library Mein issued a catalogue listing the books available to subscribers, advertising it in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of October 31, 1765, as "this day published."

To Mein's career as publisher, however, adequate attention has not yet been paid. For one thing, his political rôle in the Non-Importation movement of 1769 has overshadowed his less bellicose contributions to history.[5] None the less, for reasons which

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Sandeman, this nephew would have been only eight years old at the time. A more likely possibility is yet another nephew, an elder brother to this Robert, named George, who was likewise in this country during this period.

[2] See Charles K. Bolton's *Circulating Libraries in Boston, 1765-1865*. In the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XI, 1906-07, pp. 196-207.

[3] Taylor Brown. *A First Circulating Library—A Venture of Allan Ramsay*. In: *Publishers' Circular*, CLIII, 1940, pp. 173-74.

[4] In his *History of Printing*, I, p. 153, Isaiah Thomas states that Mein was connected with a bookseller in Scotland, by whom he was supplied with books. That this was Kincaid is probable on the basis of a letter dated Edinburgh, September 4, 1783, written by the attorney for the Kincaid estate, one John Pitcairn, in which reference is made to Mein's indebtedness to the estate of this Kincaid, who had died in 1777. The letter, addressed to Samuel Eliot, in London, is among the Norton Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[5] Mein's opposition to the Non-Importation movement has already been described at length in the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, by Professor Charles M. Andrews, XIX, 1916-17, pp. 226-30; and by Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, XXXII, 1933-37, pp. 411-16.

will become apparent, Mein's efforts as a publisher were not the least interesting of his varied enterprises.

Although it is true that Mein, in a petition to the judges of the King's Bench in London, spoke of himself in 1770 as a "bookseller and printer in Boston," he was, nevertheless, a publisher rather than a printer in the present-day sense of these terms.[6] Furthermore, before the establishment in 1766 of his own printing shop, in partnership with John Fleeming, Mein was compelled to make use of the services of some other press. That the printer whom Mein employed was William M'Alpine is open to little question, despite the fact that the latter's name appears nowhere in the books which Mein published during 1765 and 1766. Like Mein a Scotchman, M'Alpine had a small printing shop and bookstall in Marlborough Street.[7] In the annals of American typography he should be remembered if but for one reason: his ingenuity. For, to meet an emergency, he seems to have had the clever idea of using an inverted "q" for a "b."

It is apparent that in the latter half of 1765 M'Alpine found himself running short of "b's." Since his types were obtained from the well-known Glasgow foundry of Alexander Wilson, it required months to secure additional supplies. Until he was able to replenish his fonts, then, M'Alpine simply took his less-needed "q's," setting them upside down as "b's." In print the sole noticeable difference is that the serif of the ascending stroke extends across the ascender instead of being in the form of a hook. This use of an inverted "q" is a distinguishing feature of books printed by M'Alpine during the autumn and winter of 1765-1766, and is to be seen in such works as his editions of Nathaniel Ames's *Astronomical Diary* for 1766 and of Andrew Croswell's *Free Forgiveness of Spiritual Debts*.[8]

[6] A copy of this petition is among a group of Hancock-Longman papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[7] Thomas, I, p. 150.

[8] Mr. George Parker Winship informs me that he has noted this same practice in examples of fifteenth-century printing.

It is this device, moreover, which permits the identification of M'Alpine as the printer of the *Catalogue of Mein's Circulating Library*. For not only is the peculiar "b" found here, but there are other typographical similarities as well which stamp it as the product of M'Alpine's press. An examination of books likewise issued by Mein during 1766 leaves no doubt that they were all printed in the same shop, that of M'Alpine.

Connected with M'Alpine at the same time was John Fleeming, still another Scotchman. After arriving in Boston aboard the sloop *Ann*, out of Glasgow, on August 20, 1764, Fleeming became associated with M'Alpine, their names appearing jointly on the title-pages of a number of books printed in 1765 and 1766. In the latter year, however, Fleeming made a trip to Scotland to procure the necessary equipment for establishing a printing shop in partnership with Mein.[9]

After Fleeming's return to Boston on the last day of October, 1766, the press was set up, Isaiah Thomas tells us, in a house in Wing's Lane. Further expansion came in 1767 when the pair moved to Newbury Street, "almost opposite the White-Horse Tavern," a location which places the shop on the east side of what is to-day Washington Street, a few steps north of Essex Street. The printing shop, where some books might also be bought, was on the ground floor, while Mein, his partner, and some of their employees had quarters in the story above.

One wishes that Joseph Otis had been much more conscientious when, on March 1, 1770, he took an inventory of the shop in connection with a suit brought against Mein by John Hancock, on behalf of Thomas Longman, to whom Mein was heavily in debt.[10] But, bare of details as it is, the description gives us at least

[9] Thomas, I, p. 151.

[10] It was Mr. Bolton who, in his article on Mein's circulating library, first pointed out the existence, in the Early Court Records of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, of the documents relating to this suit, from which this inventory is taken. A full discussion of the trial itself, however, belongs more properly with an analysis of Mein's career as a bookseller, which is in preparation.

a glimpse into the nature of the shop, containing as it did the following:

> Seven Frames on which are Sixty five Cases with the Types etc.
> Two Printing Presses with all the Materials thereto
> One large Iron Stove
> One composing Stone and Sundry Small articles
> Namely Water-troughs, Two wooden banks, a high trough
> BELLOW STAIRS
> One Iron Stove, two cutting presses, one grind Stone
> Two Stoles with a number of small articles in the Said Room

Here in this shop, with the aid of Boston apprentices and journeymen printers from Scotland, were produced most of the works which bear the Mein and Fleeming imprint. Only after his flight to England in 1769, the result of the opposition caused by his political activities, did Mein's career as publisher come to a close. In the period of four years, however, Mein had established himself as the outstanding American publisher of the day both in the number and in the quality of the books he issued.

II.

In his *History of Printing in America* Isaiah Thomas remarks regarding the books which Mein had published that of them

> Some . . . had a false imprint, and were palmed upon the public for London editions, because Mein apprehended that books printed in London, however executed, sold better than those which were printed in America.[11]

The suggestion that not all the books for which Mein was responsible are readily identified as such is indeed challenging, and calls for a re-examination of the lists of books Mein is recorded as having issued. Can we add to them the names of works which bear such a false imprint, and show that Mein did publish them?

In the attempt to do this still another phase of Mein's varied

[11] Thomas, I, p. 151.

efforts proves to be significant: his political and journalistic campaign as editor of the *Boston Chronicle,* the newspaper of which he had begun publication in December, 1767. In 1769 Mein became an outspoken opponent of the Non-Importation movement organized by Boston merchants who agreed, as a protest against the Townshend Acts, not to import British goods.

While Mein, in the columns of the paper, denounced the agreements, or, more precisely, the "hypocritical" failure of the merchants to live up to the letter of their promises, he himself shrewdly capitalized upon the refusal of self-respecting Boston citizens to accept English merchandise. If the people of the town would not buy imported goods, well then, let them prove their patriotism by purchasing books which had been printed in America! So, beginning with the issue of the *Chronicle* for October 2, 1769, Mein ran an advertisement listing such works under the caption "Printed in America, and to be sold by John Mein."

A careful scrutiny of this list raises certain questions. Of the nineteen different titles which are included, seven alone are to be found in Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* in editions available in Boston in 1769. Two others not mentioned by Evans are known in copies which had not come to his attention. But this still leaves just over half of the titles unaccounted for. The obvious query presents itself: What about the others? Was Mein consciously deceiving the public in asserting that the books so catalogued were of American origin? Or did they actually exist, in editions of which we are unaware? Should some of the books bearing a false London imprint be among them, how ironic that fate, in the guise of politics, should have forced Mein to proclaim their American identity!

Of the nine works already recorded, seven have in common the fact that Mein published editions of them. That the editions which he offered for sale are his own is but a plausible conclusion.

The other two titles are recorded by Evans simply as Boston editions, without the name of any printer, and these too may have been issued by Mein. Thus the possibility that Mein was responsible for the ten remaining works is an extremely good one, and in this list we have a basis for a search for false or otherwise unknown Mein imprints.

In checking upon this group of publications there is such evidence as is provided by other advertisements for Mein's bookstore, not only in the *Boston Chronicle* but in other local newspapers as well, since, possessing a most modern faith in the power of advertising, Mein devoted pages and pages to celebrating his wares. In addition there is yet another important source of information, the manuscript list of "Books Printed at Boston and Cambridge before 1775," compiled by Isaiah Thomas in anticipation of a second edition of his *History of Printing*. Samuel F. Haven, Jr., made use of Thomas's notes in preparing the catalogue of ante-revolutionary imprints which formed the appendix of the 1874 edition of Thomas's work. For some reason or other, however, Haven chose to omit the names of printers which Thomas on occasion indicated. By going back to the original manuscript, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, we have invaluable, if not always exact, evidence, provided by a contemporary, regarding the origin of many otherwise unidentified books and pamphlets.

On the basis of Mein's advertisements it is possible, first of all, to establish a tentative chronology for the works he presumably issued, separating those titles which were printed for him by M'Alpine from those produced in his own shop. By doing this it appears that the first group includes three titles not previously ascribed to Mein: editions of Daniel Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies*, Job Orton's *Memoirs . . . of the Late Reverend Philip Doddridge*, and Colman and Garrick's comedy, *The Clandestine Marriage*.

Judging from the extensive manner in which Mein advertised Dulany's Stamp Act tract in the *Massachusetts Gazette* and elsewhere during the early months of 1766 there would be enough reason to suspect that Mein had published an edition of the pamphlet if on no other grounds. It remains to locate a copy which presents evidence of having been printed by M'Alpine, as would have been the case.

There exists, as a matter of fact, an edition of this work which for a long time has been a bibliographical mystery, bearing as it does for imprint simply the phrase "North America:". Mr. Lawrence Wroth, in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, was unable to account for either printer or place of publication of this particular issue.[12] With his customary perception, however, he pointed out a typographical detail which he felt would aid in identifying the pamphlet. That detail is nothing less than the peculiar "b" already described as a characteristic trait of books printed by M'Alpine at this period. On the basis of not only this but of other typographical similarities as well it is possible to assert that this pamphlet was reprinted by M'Alpine, for sale by Mein.[13]

In the case of the second of this group of titles, Orton's *Memoirs of the Life, Character and Writings of the Late Reverend Philip Doddridge*, the Harvard College Library possesses an edition I believe to be that issued by Mein. It bears for imprint, to be sure, merely the phrase "London: Printed in the Year MDCCLXVI." The absence of the name of the printer suggests that while it may actually have been printed in England, it may equally well have been published by Mein. A comparison of this edition with another work, likewise printed in 1766, which does carry Mein's

[12] Lawrence C. Wroth. *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776*. Baltimore, 1922, p. 225.

[13] For more detailed reasons for attributing this edition to Mein, see my note on *The Boston Edition of Daniel Dulany's "Considerations . . ."* In: *New England Quarterly*, XIII, 1940, pp. 705-11. Full bibliographical descriptions of this and of other works published by Mein which have not previously been ascribed to him are given at the conclusion of this paper.

name, leaves little question that here indeed is one of Mein's false London imprints. For between this volume and Mein's edition of the Reverend John Ogilvie's allegorical poem *Providence* there exist typographical resemblances too close to be coincidental. The type face is the same, while identical printers' flowers are used in like patterns. Furthermore, on the final leaf of Orton's work there is an advertisement for Ogilvie's poem itself, an advertisement also found in Boston newspapers, inserted by Mein to describe the volume which might be bought at the London Bookstore. It is true that the *Memoirs* do not contain the peculiar "b" by means of which Dulany's pamphlet was identified, but this fact may be explained by pointing out that this life of Doddridge was published much later in 1766. In the meantime, obviously, M'Alpine had received fresh supplies of type from Scotland, and was no longer compelled to make use of his ingeniously inverted "q's."

Finally, Isaiah Thomas records a Mein edition of the biography. Each of these details might perhaps not independently provide sufficient proof that this edition was Mein's; cumulatively, however, they appear to justify such a conclusion.

As for the third item, Coleman's *Clandestine Marriage*, no edition has been uncovered which can be shown to be that issued by Mein. Nevertheless the play was prominently advertised among books for sale at the London Bookstore, and, more significantly yet, Isaiah Thomas ascribes an edition to Mein. A copy of the play may still turn up some day, possibly bound in a volume of less entertaining tracts or pamphlets.

For all those works which Mein published after 1766, on the other hand, the distinctive nature of the Mein and Fleeming type face is a clue to their identity. This is the unusual face which may have been cast in America by David Mitchelson, antedating that of Abel Buell of Connecticut.[14] No other printer is known to

[14] See Mr. Wroth's *Note on John Mein and David Mitchelson as Early American Type Founders*, in his *Abel Buell of Connecticut*, New Haven, 1926, pp. 73-79.

have possessed this type as early as 1767, and its use is acceptable evidence that a work printed in this face came from the Mein and Fleeming presses during the years 1767-1770.

Of the nine unknown titles listed in Mein's "Printed in America" advertisement which were presumably published during this period it has, after much search, been possible to locate four. Two of these bear false London imprints. In 1767 Mein reprinted Tissot's *Advice to the People in General with Regard to their Health*, a popular medical treatise which had achieved a tremendous sale in Europe and won its author international acclaim.[15] And in the following year Mein reprinted *The Trial of Frederick Calvert, Esq; . . . for a Rape on the Body of Sarah Woodcock.* This was the transcript of the recent trial of the last of the Lords Baltimore, who had finally been acquitted of the charge after the sensational case had held the headlines of British and colonial newspapers for months. Both of these items, like the life of Doddrige already described, were given the imprint "London: Printed in the Year . . ." with the appropriate date. The apologist for Mein may point out that the imprint does not say that the volume was printed in London, but it is obvious that the intent to mislead existed. The type face of these two works is that used by Mein and Fleeming, and both titles were extensively advertised in the *Boston Chronicle* as for sale at the London Bookstore.

In the year 1768 Mein also published what was the first American edition of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, antedating by two years the Philadelphia edition which has generally been con-

I am convinced that Mr. Wroth is correct in believing that there is little positive evidence to support claims for the American origin of Mein's type. Alexander Purdie, the Williamsburg printer who also came from Scotland, possessed a type face strikingly similar to that of Mein—a point not previously made—and that it came from a Scottish foundry is a reasonable supposition. I have also noted scattered instances of a type resembling that of Mein in Scottish imprints of this period. As yet, however, I have not been able to trace the type face to its source.

[15] I have given more specific reasons for believing this edition to be Mein's in *A Note on Tissot's "Advice to the People." London, 1767*, in the *Papers* of this Society, XXXIV, 1940, pp. 262-66.

sidered the earliest to appear in this country. For reasons known probably only to Mein it did not bear a false London imprint: he may have felt that the ruse would have been too patent. As a consequence it bears on the title-page, for imprint, simply the date.[16] The same treatment was likewise accorded Mein's edition of James Murray's anonymous *Sermons to Asses*. This pro-American pamphlet by Murray, a nonconformist English divine, Mein attributed to Franklin, very likely for the explanation given by William Franklin in a letter to his father in which reference is made to this reprint:

> Young Dunlap [the Philadelphia printer] has publish'd an Edition of the Sermons to Asses, and to give them a Sale has had the impudence to attribute them to you. I am told Mein the bookseller at Boston has done the same.[17]

There is little doubt that the edition of this work in the Library of Congress, printed as it is in the Mein and Fleeming type face, is that advertised by Mein. Isaiah Thomas likewise states that Mein issued an edition of this work.[18]

As for the five items which have not been located, four are works for children, chapbooks reprinted from English editions published by John Newbery. It is not at all surprising, however, to find that no copies of Mein's editions have survived, for of the two juvenile titles which are known to-day in his reprints one exists in a unique copy which might as easily have suffered the fate of the other four. But that they once existed need not seriously be questioned.

The fifth work of which we have no trace is Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, from a literary point of view perhaps the

[16] It is obviously to this edition that Dr. Wilbur L. Cross refers in his *Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, New Haven, 1929, when, on p. 604, he speaks of "an unauthorized cheap edition without printer's name on the title."

[17] American Philosophical Society, Franklin MSS, II (ii), 164. William Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, Burlington, N. J., March 2, 1769. I am indebted to Professor Verner W. Crane for calling this reference to my attention.

[18] What was apparently another copy of Murray's pamphlet was included in lot 4182 of the Brinley sale. I have not, however, been able to trace it.

most notable of all Mein's publications. Not only does Isaiah Thomas assert that Mein issued an edition of the novel, but Mein also printed extracts from it in his newspaper, a device which he had employed to advertise Murray's sermons, Tissot's medical treatise, and Sterne's sketches. That no copy of Mein's edition is to-day known is simply a tribute to the popularity of the book. Mein's edition was probably read to pieces.

What is more important, however, is the fact that the Mein edition of the *Vicar* was, like that of the *Sentimental Journey*, the earliest to appear in America. Published in 1767, it antedated the 1772 Philadelphia edition which has been commonly considered the first. As such, a copy of the Philadelphia edition was offered for sale in the recent auction of the library of A. Edward Newton.[19] Despite the fact that no copy of the Mein and Fleeming reprint has been traced, Boston may wrest the satisfaction, and even the glory, of having been the earlier to publish an American edition of Goldsmith's celebrated novel.

That this list of books into which we have been looking included only those that were in print in the late months of 1769 is more than likely. There may have been others issued by Mein, the stock of which had been exhausted by the October of that year. As a matter of fact, prior advertisements do suggest such a possibility, and a careful examination of them along similar lines indicates that there were at least several such items. On the basis of Mein's advertisements, aided by clues furnished by Isaiah Thomas, it has been possible to compile a tentative checklist of Mein publications which goes beyond Evans's *American Bibliography*. In this way a substantial number of new titles has been added to those attributed to Mein by Evans. As a consequence Mein is revealed as a publisher of even greater distinction than has been realised, a distinction which he himself, through false or inadequate imprints, had done so much to obscure.

[19] Alfred Edward Newton. *Rare Books . . . Collected by the Late A. Edward Newton.* New York, 1941, II, p. 44.

MEIN IMPRINTS PREVIOUSLY UNRECORDED

This list comprises only works for the publication of which Mein was apparently responsible that have not otherwise been ascribed to him. The titles of those works which Mein presumably issued that have not yet been located are enclosed in brackets. It is hoped that their description here may aid in tracing them.

1766

1. Colman, George, the Elder. [The Clandestine Marriage. A Comedy. By George Colman and David Garrick.]

2. Dulany, Daniel. Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes. *Title-page:* Considerations | on the | Propriety | of imposing | Taxes | in the | British Colonies, | For the Purpose of raising a Revenue, by *Act of Parliament* | [*Rule*] | [*Four lines*] | [*Rule*] | North America:

   Collation: 8vo in half sheets. [A]-F^4; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [i]-ii, [5]-47, [1].

   Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, RPJCB, ViU.

3. Gough, John. [A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue, To which is added, A Dictionary.]

   Listed among other Mein publications in advertisements of 1767 and 1768, it is more than likely that Mein also issued an edition of this educational work.

4. Orton, Job. Memoirs . . . of the Late Reverend Philip Doddridge.

   Title-page: Memoirs | of the | Life, Character and Writings | of the late reverend | *Philip Doddridge*, D.D. | of | Northampton. | [*Rule*] | [*Seven lines from*] | *Night-Thoughts*, No. 2. | [*Double rule*] | *London:* | Printed in the Year mdcclxvi.

   Collation: 12mo in half sheets. 1 prelim. leaf, [A]-[Z]^6, 1 leaf; 2 prelim. leaves, pp. iii-[xi], [13]-265, [3].

   Copy: MH.

1767

5. Fordyce, James. Sermons to Young Women. 2 vols.

   Title-page: Sermons | to | Young Women: | in two volumes. | By the Reverend Dr. Fordyce. | volume I. | Printed in m,dcc,lxvii.

   Collation: 12mo in half sheets. Vol. I: [A]^4, B-Q^6; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [iii]-viii, [1]-180. Vol. II: A^2, B-X^6; 2 prelim. leaves, pp. [1]-239.

   Copy: MB.

Although the Boston Public Library has assumed that this is the third London edition of Fordyce's *Sermons*, there is, I think, no doubt that this work was actually issued by Mein and Fleeming. The history of this and a later edition which bears their imprint should make that fact clear.

Early in February, 1767, Mein advertised an edition of the *Sermons* for sale, referring, to all appearances, to that described above. Then, later in the spring, a more recent edition of the *Sermons* which included two additional sermons came into his hands. In order to insert them in his own edition he had the forms in volume two for signatures M through X set up to include the new sermons and to make omissions and revisions in the text to conform with the revised English edition which he was following. Signature A of the second volume was replaced by new sheets, while for the title-page of volume one, the text of which remained the same, a cancel leaf was provided. For some reason or other the second edition bore Mein's name, as can be seen from the copies of this edition which are in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society and in the Case Memorial Library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

Finding himself with unused sheets for the two sermons from the second volume of his earlier edition, Mein, in order to dispose of them, made up a separate title-page for them as *Two Sermons to Young Women*. This publication, copies of which are to be found in the Boston Public Library and the John Carter Brown Library, also bears the Mein and Fleeming imprint. Inasmuch as the text of this edition is identical with the corresponding signatures of the edition which lacks place of publication or printer, there is only nominal doubt that the latter was also issued by Mein, and was not printed in London.

6. Goldsmith, Oliver. [The Vicar of Wakefield.] 2 vols.

7. Pennsylvania. University. [Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies. Written for Mr. Sargent's Prize-Medal. To Which (by Desire) is Prefixed, An Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766.]

   Isaiah Thomas ascribes an edition of this work to Mein, by whom it is prominently advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for January 12, 1767, and elsewhere.

8. Tissot, Samuel Auguste André David. Advice to the People in General with Regard to their Health. 2 vols.

   Title-page: Advice | to the | People in General, | with regard to their | Health: | [*Five lines*] | with | A Table of the most cheap, yet effectual | Remedies, and the plainest Directions for | preparing them readily. | Translated from the French Edition of | Dr. Tissot's *Avis au Peuple*, &c. | Printed

at Lyons; with all the Notes in the first | English Edition, and a very few additional ones. | By J. Kirkpatrick, *M.D.* | To which is added, | The Art of preserving Health: | [*Five lines*] | By J. Mackenzie, *M.D.* | [*Rule*] | [*Two lines from*] Prov. xiv. 28. | Volume I. | [*Rule*] | *London:* Printed in Year MDCCLXVII.

Collation: 12mo in half sheets. Vol. I: A-Z^{6}, Aa^{6}, Bb^{4}; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [iii]-xxiv, [1]-[266], [i-vi]. Vol. II: [A]^{3}, B-Y^{6}, Z^{1}; 3 prelim. leaves, pp. [1]-254.

Copies: CtY, DSG (Vol. I only), MA, MBM (formerly in MBAt), MeB, RPJCB (Vol. I only).

1767 or 1768

It is impossible to say whether the following children's books were published in 1767 or in 1768.

9. Giles Gingerbread. [The renowned history of Giles Gingerbread, a little boy who lived upon learning. To which is added, many useful lessons illustrated with sixteen curious plates.]

10. Leo, the Great Lion. [The history of Leo, the Great Lion, and of his gratitude. To which is added, Instructive Fables adorned with cuts.]

11. Tom Thumb. [The famous Tommy Thumb's little Story-book. Containing his life and surprising adventures: To which are added his fables, morals, pretty stories, and songs. Adorned with very curious plates.]

12. Tommy Trip. [The adventures of little Tommy Trip, with his dog Jouler, with an account of his beating the great Giant Woglog: Also Tommy Trip's select fables, and an excellent pastoral Hymn Adorned with proper plates.]

1768

13. Murray, James. Sermons to Asses.

Title-page: Sermons | to | Asses. | [*Double rule*] | Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXVIII.

Collation: 12mo in half sheets. A-L^{6}, M^{2}; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [iii]-vi, [7]-135.

Copy: DLC.

14. Rotheram, John. [An Essay on Faith and its Connection with Good Works.]

Mein's advertisements for this work in the *Boston Chronicle* during January, 1768, may be for either an edition which he himself published or for copies of the New York edition lately reprinted by James Parker.

15. Sterne, Laurence. A Sentimental Journey. 2 vols.

Title-page: A | Sentimental Journey | through | France and Italy. | By | Mr. Yorick. | [*Rule*] | Vol. I. | [*Double rule*] | MDCCLXVIII.

Collation: 12mo in half sheets. Vol. I: A-H^{6}; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [3]-66 (i.e. 96; p. 96 incorrectly numbered 66). Vol. II: A-H^{6}, [I]^{2}; 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [3]-98.

Copy: MH.

16. Baltimore, Frederick Calvert, 7th baron. The Trial of Frederick Calvert . . . for a Rape.

Title-page: The | Trial | of | Frederick Calvert, Esq; | Baron of *Baltimore*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, | for | A Rape on the Body of *Sarah Woodcock;* | and of | *El. Griffinburg*, & *A. Harvey*, otherwise *Darby*, | As Accessaries before the Fact, | [*Two lines*] | At the | Assizes held at *Kingston* for the Couuty [*sic*] of *Surry*, | [*Four lines*] | [*Rule*] | Published by Permission of the Judge. | [*Rule*] | Taken in Short-Hand by Joseph Gurney. | [*Rule*] | *London:* | Printed in the Year M DCC LXVIII.

Collation: 8vo in half sheets. [A]-S^{4} (S4 blank); 1 prelim. leaf, pp. [3]-142.

Copies: CSmH, MWA.

THOMAS J. WISE TO JOHN HENRY WRENN ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY BIBLIOGRAPHY*

By FANNIE ELIZABETH RATCHFORD

BETWEEN February 20, 1894, and May 13, 1911, Thomas J. Wise wrote John Henry Wrenn more than twelve hundred letters, many of them very long ones. Transcribed they aggregate about three thousand pages of ordinary typing. They are, it would seem, the richest extant source of information concerning Mr. Wise's extensive bibliographical activities, detailing as they do the building of the Ashley and Wrenn libraries, for about eighty per cent of the Wrenn books passed through Mr. Wise's hands. Since Mr. Wrenn's letters to Mr. Wise were destroyed as they were answered, the correspondence has the character of a dramatic monologue with Mr. Wrenn as the unseen listener, whose honor and integrity was always sharply before the writer's calculating mind.

The twelve hundred letters are concerned almost exclusively with Bookcollecting and Bibliography—figuratively and literally Mr. Wise wrote both words with a capital. After one of the very few digressions in the whole series, a bad anecdote told to illustrate an auction room situation, Mr. Wise brought himself up with the stern reminder, "But this is not Bibliography."

In a burst of rare sentiment he confided to Mr. Wrenn, "Bibliography appeals to me in the strongest possible manner." On one occasion he wrote, apropos of publicising a small discovery, "This

* Read at the Society's meeting held in Chicago, December 30, 1941.

may have been an unwise thing to do from a money point of view, but Bibliography is more than money."

Indignation against booksellers who described their wares inaccurately found bitter expression in almost every letter; and over and over he concludes his denunciation, "Thus is Bibliography falsified," and "This is prostitution of Bibliography." Always Mr. Wise stood as the champion of his beloved's honor and purity against the assaults of ignorance and greed, boldly facing the greatest booksellers of England with their mistakes or misrepresentations, and denouncing frauds in the very auction room itself. Outraged, he details to Mr. Wrenn the indifference of certain false dealers to his rebukes. "Now what do you think of that! ! !" he asks rhetorically at the conclusion of one such narrative. "I consider it abominable. . . . The whole thing is a prostitution of Bibliography; and a willful falsification of values—and so I told Mr. Chatto." Sabin, Sotheran, Maggs, Spencer, Tregaskis, and others came in for like strictures.

American dealers were the worst sinners of all in Mr. Wise's eyes. No English collector, he said, dared place a commission in an American auction sale after the ignorant and deceptive cataloguing of the McKee Library (1900-1906). In collusion with or the victims of unscrupulous English traders, American booksellers filled their clients' shelves with volumes that could not find a home in England. All American bibliography therefore, that is, such as was based upon American libraries, was suspect to him, and rarely, if ever, did a piece come into his hands which he could except from the general condemnation. His strictures extended even to the handsome Grolier Club publications, which Mr. Wrenn sent him as gifts. Thanking Mr. Wrenn for *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature*, 1902, he wrote:

> I am sure you will not think me wanting in gratitude if I make a remark or two concerning the book: a remark which partakes of the nature of criticism rather than of praise. . . . The title-page given for the "Lyrical Ballads" . . . is incorrect. It is the *Second* title, not the *First*. This is a sad mischance. Surely your Grolier

Club men are aware that the First Edition of the "Lyrical Ballads" was printed at *Bristol*, with a Bristol titlepage. . . . The Bristol title is rare; the London title is comparatively common.

Sometimes he softens his criticism by adding that the inaccuracies of American bibliography probably arise from faults in the books which the compilers have access to. Mr. Leonard Mackall, whom he identifies as an American studying in Jena, on a trip to London, visited the Ashley Library for the use of its Byron books. Mr. Mackall admitted, according to Mr. Wise's report, that American libraries were wholly unreliable.

Nor did American collectors hold a much higher place in his estimation than book dealers. "It appears to me," he wrote, after receiving the catalogue of a forthcoming sale, "that there are not many book *collectors* in America. . . . So many turn out to be mere speculators. . . . What love for their books can such men have! It is a desecration for good books to fall into their utterly unsympathetic hands. Why do they not go into Wall Street and there gamble with the paper Mr. Morgan has created for their use? They only serve to run up prices and keep books out of the hands of those who love them and treasure them."

Gratefully acknowledging the services of bibliographers of English literature before his own day, Mr. Wise at the same time points out to Mr. Wrenn their limitations and shortcomings, emphasizing the opening of a new era. "The Bibliography of Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, and Sir Philip Sidney," he wrote, "has been carefully (but by no means fully) worked out. But besides these four names, hardly any attempt has been made to study and detail the Bibliography of books printed between 1550 and 1800." The older bibliographers, he complains, thought it enough to set down titles, authors, printers, publishers, and dates of the books they listed, and because of their failure to collate their books carefully, the British Museum authorities, ignorant and opinionated men of the old school, frequently sold as duplicates rare variants which they would have to replace at increased

prices. Great was his own triumph in facing these "know-it-alls" with their blunders. Dr. Richard Garnett and his successor, Mr. Fortesque, he esteemed as intelligent men in full agreement with his views.

"It is only quite recently," he continued in one of his early bibliographical chats to Mr. Wrenn, "that Bibliography has become an exact science. I feel sure that before long I shall have added a great deal to the sum of our knowledge concerning points and particulars of 17th and 18th Century books." Every word of every page of every book that passed through his hand was scrutinized with the utmost care, for, he taught Mr. Wrenn, "it is quite useless to take anything for granted." "It is the points that determine the right or wrong of these 18th Century books," he emphasized in pointing out the scarcity of genuine first editions as compared to numerous reprints and pirated editions. He goes on to quote Edmund Gosse's warning against the representations of indolent makers of sale catalogues who constantly advertise "Volumes of Old Plays, all First Editions, when, on examination, not one in the lot is within twenty years of being a Princeps."

Many a page he covered in relating to Mr. Wrenn his discovery of points differentiating issues as well as editions. Once he wrote, "I have made during the past few weeks three discoveries in regard to the Bibliography of these old books." Again, exulting over one of his finds, "These little discoveries mean much to Bibliography." He was always generous in according Mr. Wrenn a share in his discoveries. "The original credit," he conceded, "is due to you, for it is the result of the opportunity you have afforded me to secure second copies of the books and examine them at home at my leisure." Again he repeats, twice in one letter: "Bibliography owes a debt to you and me," and "Bibliography owes thanks again to us both; to *you* for affording me the opportunity of quietly examining additional copies of these books; to *me* for holding such examination."

The discovery in point, a variant of the first part of *The Essay*

on Man, hitherto unknown to Mr. Wise, stirred him to the confession, "I am more excited than you will imagine." The news, passed on to Marshall C. Lefferts, of New York, then engaged in writing a bibliography of Pope, brought the disappointing reply that Mr. Lefferts had long known this variant and had carefully compared it with the more common one, reaching a conclusion diametrically opposite to Mr. Wise's. If Mr. Wise felt chagrin he did not express his feeling to Mr. Wrenn, and a year later he comments, "Is it not delightful to observe the manner in which Mr. Lefferts is attacking Pope? This is Bibliography indeed!"

Throughout Mr. Wise's letters runs a puzzling contradiction which may, conceivably, be interpreted as evidence of a struggle in his mind between business shrewdness and devotion to his chosen mission. On the one hand, he cautions Mr. Wrenn to keep his little discoveries "dark as night," until they are both supplied with the several varieties of a title in question; on the other he is eager almost to the point of rashness in publishing his discoveries, though he repeats, "The more we study the Bibliography of the period, and the more we make the result of such a study known, the more marked will be the difference in prices."

Mr. Wise's first bibliographical treatise to Mr. Wrenn, a long dissertation concerning variant title-pages of *Paradise Lost*, concludes in a burst of Euclidian triumph, "Q. E. D." Indeed a tone of finality runs through the entire correspondence—"Q. E. D."—"Ipse dixit." The reader can hardly escape the suspicion that Mr. Wise was somewhat of a bibliographical bully. It may be added, incidentally, that the title-page which he so conclusively established as the first is now generally accepted as the second of the series.

Had he been privileged to plan his own heaven he would have elected an eternity of writing bibliographies. "If only I could live 500 years and compile a hundred Bibliographies!" he once exclaimed. Certainly he planned to devote his alloted span in the flesh to this delectable occupation. In 1901 he wrote:

I am just 42 years of age this week. If all goes well I shall by the time I am fifty, be able to cease to take an active interest in our business.... My dream is to devote myself afterwards to the compilation of, firstly, a Bibliography of Shelley; and afterwards to a Bibliography of our 17th and 18th Centuries. The Shelley will occupy me for three years, and will make as large a book as my Ruskin Bibliography is.

The other work can go for just as long as I have time to live! This sort of work *cannot* be done except "con amore." But is just the sort of work that I delight in, and by taking it up when I have no longer the duty of "working for my living" I shall be providing myself with a delightful occupation, and one with which I am in full sympathy. At the same time I shall be doing my little bit for the good of the literature of my country!

Again, in 1910, when he learned of Mr. Wrenn's retirement, he answered:

It will, I trust, be only a year or two now before I shall be inviting you to congratulate me upon taking a similar step. And one of the first uses to which I shall put my leisure will be to make a good trip to America and Canada, before I settle down to steady work in the field of Bibliography.

A complete bibliography of English literature being an admitted impossibility even for such a devotee as himself, he planned, so he confided to Mr. Wrenn, a catalogue of his own library, to be followed by a long series of individual bibliographies. A conclusive study of *Paradise Lost* was the earliest project mentioned in his letters. Another, often referred to, was a catalogue of his Royal Tracts, of which he was very proud, omitting them from his general catalogue that they might have the distinction of a separate publication, which should be the much needed bibliography in this field. Dearest to his heart of all seventeenth-century projects, however, was a bibliography of James Shirley, of whose works he owned an unrivalled collection.

The eighteenth century held even more temptations. He hinted at a bibliography of Steele, and longed for someone to undertake Swift. He was dissatisfied with all that had yet been done for Defoe, and when Mr. Lefferts gave up his work on Pope, Mr. Wise reached out for the falling torch: "I feel more and more disposed to take up the prospect of a full bibliography

of Pope, so unfortunately dropped by Mr. Lefferts," he wrote. His letters bulge with bibliographical treatises on the innumerable eighteenth-century worthies, well-known and obscure, whose works he was shrewdly buying for himself and his Chicago friend.

Against his marked partiality for the earlier centuries, the subjects of his fifteen bibliographies between 1892 and 1933 are surprising indeed: Byron, Keats, Ruskin, Robert and Elizabeth Browning, Swinburne, Tennyson, Coleridge, Borrow, Wordsworth, the Brontës, Landor, and Conrad—not a seventeenth-century nor an eighteenth-century worthy in the list. Again, from his expanded Ashley catalogue, 1922-36, he issued as separate publications the sections known as *A Byron Library*, *A Shelley Library*, *A Swinburne Library*, etc.; plus, at last, *A Dryden Library* and *A Pope Library*. These last two titles were his sole indulgence in his favorite fields, early singled out for his major work.

His transfer of effort is the stranger since, except for Shelley, whom he closely identified with himself, and Swinburne, for whom his appreciation grew with his collection, Mr. Wise showed little personal enthusiasm for nineteenth-century literature and bibliography. His discussion of the great Victorians generally turns on their monetary value. Ruskin was already up and would go higher; Swinburne, just beginning to come into his own, had a big future; Tennyson and Browning were great names and would last, but were being carried beyond reason by ignorant, rich collectors; Stevenson and Kipling had already gone far beyond their value and were doomed for the fall which came. Bitterly he denounced upstart collectors and speculators, whom he blamed for "the mad prices" to which modern books were being carried in the auction room. Frequently he ends his discussion of nineteenth-century books by declaring the superiority of the eighteenth-century field. Where, he asks, is a collector's sense of proportion when he will go into three figures for such trifles as *Pauline* and *Poems by Two Brothers* while such giants of literature

as Swift, Pope, and Steele can still be bought under ten pounds? Again he wrote:

> "Poetry for Children" is of less *rarity*, less importance, and less romantic *interest* than the "Narrative of Dr. Norris." In regard to the literary standing of their respective authors no one would pretend that Lamb can approach the position held by Pope, and yet the Lamb sold for £400, and I bought the Pope for £45. Once more, where is the sense of proportion?

His shifting of fields was dictated, it is evident, by monetary consideration rather than literary taste. Mr. Wise himself dealt commercially in books to a much greater extent than he admitted. Between the lines of his letters to Mr. Wrenn one can now read how under the name of Gorfin, Calder, Aylward, and other agents he did the business of several flourishing rare-book firms. In addition he sold as well as bought at Sotheby's, Hodgson's, Puttick's, and perhaps other auction rooms, and there are suspicious indications that he had his active agents in New York. Over and over he wrote Mr. Wrenn, always ostensibly quoting some well-known bookman, that the dealer's problem was not one of sales, for good books sell themselves, but of obtaining books to sell. As early as 1901 he was writing, "Booksellers can no longer get good books." And a few months later, he repeats at greater length:

> Eighteenth Century books are so very rare, though the fact is hardly yet appreciated, that when the 2 or 3 copies which you and I and Gosse and Forman are taking out of the market are gone, such books will be unprocurable.

The rise of wealthy buyers in Scotland, America, and the dominions, from the mid-eighties through the first decade of the new century, drained the market of popular rarities. He himself, perhaps following the lead of Forman and Gosse, added the eighteenth century to his own happy hunting ground, but the game was too scarce for profitable trading. The nineteenth-century field was, therefore, the logical one in which to expand, but here the problem reversed itself. Nineteenth-century books were

too plentiful and too close in time to tempt collectors until the rare were sorted from the common and the correct state was established, or, in broader expression, until the fashion could be set. Hence the immediate function of his nineteenth-century bibliographies.

In his early ventures in this field of collecting and bibliography, Mr. Wise had the example of a man seventeen years his senior. Through the seventies and eighties Harry Buxton Forman, with foresight and enterprise, sought out and made his own many a treasure trove of original manuscripts, letters, and rare first editions of early works of the Romantic poets. He was particularly fortunate in his Shelley spoils, from which came a long succession of publications: essays, notes, and private prints of unpublished letters and manuscripts in few copies to make them collectors' items. The rare first editions he reprinted in limited numbers at prices sufficient to cover the original purchase cost, with something for profit. This enterprise Mr. Wise saw and pondered. His own chance came with the founding of the Browning Society, when he managed, through enterprise on his own part, to obtain the privilege of issuing a facsimile reprint of *Pauline*. With the founding of the Shelley Society a little later, he became co-editor with Forman of the facsimile reprints of Shelley's works. In course of time he out-distanced his elder in the exciting game of tracking down and securing at bargain terms literary remains from which to multiply his private publications.

Up to the mid-eighties Shelley's works were little sought by collectors, but under Forman's manipulations, implemented by the Shelley Society, available perfect copies became pretty well absorbed and in course of time rose to unprecedented prices for modern books. By 1900 there was rich profit in buying bad copies cheaply and making them into fine ones. Though Mr. Wise did not create the demand, his catalogues and bibliographies greatly augmented it, and he apparently added generously to the number of good copies available.

In 1899 a small binding copy of *Queen Mab*, offered Mr. Wrenn by Zaehnsdorf, was refused on Mr. Wise's advice. He thought £40 too high for it and assured Mr. Wrenn that in time he would find one for him at £30 or thereabout. For more than three years his letters carry frequent reports of efforts to secure the book at his estimate of its value. There was no scarcity of copies on the market, but each in turn was rejected as too poor in condition or too high in price. At last a beautiful copy in old calf, correct in every point, so Mr. Wise twice assures Mr. Wrenn, came up for sale at Sotherby's. Mr. Wise, acting as Mr. Wrenn's agent, commissioned Quaritch to bid for it, and secured it at £50 plus commission. The high price, Mr. Wise argued at length, was justified by its size and immaculate condition. The old calf binding was apparently discarded for blue levant by Rivière, for the copy of *Queen Mab* that now stands on the Wrenn shelves has the title-page, the dedication leaf, and perhaps the last leaf in imperfect type facsimiles. What happened is not certain. The auction records confirm Mr. Wise's statement of Quaritch's purchase. One guess is that Quaritch bought the book on commission for another customer and that Wise, taking advantage of the record, represented his doctored copy as the Quaritch purchase rebound to match Mr. Wrenn's other *Shelleys*. Years before, Mr. Wise had written: "£30 is full value for the book. This is what a fine copy is worth. Doctored and cleaned copies go for £20 to £24, about."

Epipsychidion, reported to Mr. Wrenn as perfect in every detail, has a half-title printed on paper which but poorly matches the rest of the book, in type used for the Shelley Society facsimile reprints. Similarly two of the Wrenn *Byrons*, bought at a time when imperfect copies of most of his titles were plentiful and cheap, show evidence of doctoring. On November 24, 1904, Mr. Wise reported to Mr. Wrenn a piece of good luck at Sotheby's, when he bought ten Byron pieces for 52 shillings. "Of course," he writes, "it was for the sake of 'The Bride of Abydos' that I bought

the lot . . . . You can debit the whole of the 52/– to this book." This volume, further described in the catalogue slips which he sent Mr. Wrenn as the first edition, second issue, is actually made up of the sheets of the third edition with a forged title-page attempting to reproduce the title-page of the first edition. When he later bought a genuine first edition, he described it as first edition, first issue. Similarly, a copy of *Mazeppa* described by Mr. Wise as perfect has fraudulent half-title and title.

The works of the greater Victorians provided few actual rarities, for their popularity, early established, demanded, in main, large editions. The best works of Ruskin, Tennyson, and the two Brownings were to be had in Mr. Wrenn's day at half their publication prices. Only the very early volumes and privately printed editions offered the rare book dealer any considerable profits, and these existed in but the fewest copies of each title; even imperfect copies were not available for doctoring. The answer of Mr. Wise and his friends Forman and Gosse to the problem was the sixty forgeries and suspects listed by Carter and Pollard and others.

All Mr. Wise's adventures in bookmaking and bookselling are strangely and deviously reflected in his letters to Mr. Wrenn. From the vantage-point of his Tennyson Bibliography, the only one of the series compiled through the years of their intimacy, he launched his campaign to get the forgeries on the Wrenn shelves. In 1896 he takes note that Mr. Wrenn is gathering Tennyson, and ventures the promise that he will be able from time to time to help him secure the more uncommon pieces, for in course of his research he shall make it his business to talk with everyone still living who came in contact with the poet, and undoubtedly he would thus be able to buy from private owners the rarities that had already been carried to "mad prices" in the sales rooms. True to his guess, he does find them, one after the other in surprising succession, followed so rapidly by items of Swinburne, the Brownings, Rossetti, and others in Carter and Pollard's famous list that by the end of 1905 the line was played out, except for occasional

duplicates and proofs. The details of his manoeuvres—discovering the pamphlet, bargaining with its owner, citing authorities, referring to auction records, assigning a provenance, etc., have all the fascination of a snake's motions in charming a bird into his mouth, but it is a story too long for this occasion. The completed Tennyson Bibliography was sent to Mr. Wrenn in March, 1908, with the recommendation, "I am confident [it] is not only a good honest piece of work, but a sound piece of Bibliography." The two volumes describe as genuine eighteen proven forgeries and suspects.

Amusingly enough Mr. Wise was aghast at the success of his own propaganda, and, to a certain extent, caught in his own trap. Though he carefully built up the value of his forgeries by citing the "mad prices" to which such "excessive rarities" as *The Cup*, *The Falcon* and *Ode to the Queen* were being carried by eager collectors, he lashed out again and again in genuine rage at the sums paid for real nineteenth-century rarities. Many a coveted book he missed in the auction room because he would not help to establish a record to be used against himself when the next copy should come up for sale. Yet he was obliged on several occasions "to go the whole hog"—the expression is his own—which meant £500 and over, to secure the Shelley and Tennyson items needed to complete his collections.

Habitually Mr. Wise couples his forgeries with genuine super-rarities. For instance, he wrote on June 6, 1898:

> By the way, you won't forget me, will you, in case any of the Tennyson pieces I still require turn up on your side at prices which you do not feel justified to pay yourself. The three are: "The Lovers' Tale," 1833, "Enid and Nimüe," 1857, "The True and the False," 1859. . . . For these books I will, in case of need, pay £100.0.0 each. This is a stiff price; but my Tennyson Collection is so very complete that I dare not pass either of these books whenever they chance to turn up. . . . As many of my Tennyson books have come to me at really low prices, I can very well afford to go to an outside figure for these 3 missing pieces. For instance, my copy of "The Falcon" [a forgery] cost me a few shillings. I bought it at time it was printed. Mrs. Rylands paid £120.0.0 for the last uncut copy that turned up.

For the first of these three titles, the Stuart Samuels copy, Mr. Wise finally paid £600—"a really stupendous sum for a small 19th Century book"—and he made a desperate effort to buy *The True and the False* from Mr. William Harris Arnold for the same sum. But Mr. Arnold, whom one suspects of turning tables on Mr. Wise, obdurately held out for $5,500, which Mr. Wise "would not allow" himself to give. The only copy of *Enid and Nimüe* which came up for sale, from "the library of the late Lady Simeon," June 22, 1904, went to Mr. Rook at £210, though Mr. Wise had written, "I must go for it."

Though Mr. Wise's Swinburne Bibliography was not written until after Mr. Wrenn's death, his letters through the year following Swinburne's demise afford many enlightening footnotes to its two volumes. His account of trading with Watts-Dunton for the cream of Swinburne's library and literary remains, though no doubt highly colored, is yet the key to the business side of his bookselling and private publishing, and from it one may calculate pretty conclusively how the Ashley Library financed itself.

In summary it may be said that it was the nineteenth century that led to Mr. Wise's undoing as a bibliographer. His advice to Mr. Wrenn regarding books of the earlier centuries was essentially sound—prophetically true—as to both money and literary values. Where Mr. Wrenn paid shillings for his books, they are now worth tens of pounds, while the debt which scholars owe to Mr. Wrenn and Mr. Wise for the collection is incalculable. There are amazingly few faults in the earlier books, though many misattributions of authorship, perhaps a dozen wrongly made-up volumes, and a few missing half-titles—a remarkable record considering the newness of the field and the lack of written guides. It is doubtful that a finer eighteenth-century collection could have been built up through the years Mr. Wise worked.

Mr. Wise was not the stuff of which good bibliographers are made, but as regards seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books he was sincerely enthusiastic and honestly meticulous. For nine-

teenth-century books his good business judgment held, and here again he helped Mr. Wrenn to assemble, at what now seems nominal cost, a collection that has few peers. But greed for his own library found in the growing demand for modern books an opportunity too tempting to resist, and he lost himself in gainful and fraudulent traffic, to the sacrifice of honest work in the field he early mapped out as his own.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by Frederick R. Goff, Howard S. Mott, David A. Randall, E. Millicent Sowerby, Lewis M. Stark, and Edwin E. Willoughby.

Incunabula

Mirabilia urbis Romae (Historia et descriptio urbis Romae). [Rome, Stephan Plannck, about 1486] 8°.

52 leaves. Sig.: [a-f^{8}, g^{4}] (A1 blank and lacking). 23 lines. Type 2: 88 G. Init.: b. 4 full-page woodcuts.

leaf 1: blank. 2a: I^{3}N iſto opuſculo diciť quomodo Romu|lus ² Remus nati ſũt ² educati: . . . | 2b: full-page woodcut. 3a: [woodcut, 3 coats-of-arms] [R^{6}]OMA ciuitas ſancta: caput | mundi Anno poſt euerſionis | Troiane . . . | leaf b: quatuor ² dieb^{9} .viii. Hic ſuo edicto cunctos qui | 52a, line 12: Hinc ad apoſt pergã, rotundã: latera: pangrac3. | Finis. | Regiſtrum quaterno2$\mathcal{4}$. | Primũ vacat. . . . | 52b: blank.

Bound in red levant morocco, gilt tooled, by Riviere.

The Fairfax Murray copy, his *Catalogo*, 1899, 1: 1280; also described in J. Rosenthal, catalog 24: 994, in Reichling no. 258, and in Quaritch *Catalogue* 375: 138.

Apparently unique. Christian Hülsen in the Introduction to *Mirabilia Romae*, Berlin, 1925, under nos. 1-3, describes three dated editions (1489, 1491, 1492) with colophons, that have 52 leaves, 23 lines.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 2120; *Second Census*, M512.

— Herman R. Mead

Tardivus, Guilelmus. Grammatica, elegantia et rhetorica. [Poitiers, Jean Bouyer, about 1488] 4°.

208 leaves. Sig.: a^{10} (a1 blank and genuine), a-i^{8}, l-q^{8}, r^{10}, A-C^{8}, K^{8}, L-O^{8}, P^{4}. 34-35 lines. Type 9: 81-82 G (first 9 printed leaves, 31-32 lines, type 6: 90 G). With rubrics and initials in blue and red, added by hand.

leaf 1, blank. 2a, with sig. a ii: Carolo octauo francoꝛſi regi chriſtianiſſimo. Guil- | lermus Tardiuus auicienſis humillimam cõmendatio | nem obſecrat. | [v]^{4} Ellem ea michi eloquentia . . . | 10a, line 29: . . . perdoceant | prouulgent. |

10b: blank. 11a, with sig. a.i.: Guillermi tardiui anicienſis eloquẽcie cõpendiũ; | Oꝛdo huius compendii; | line 18: Gꝛãmatica pꝛima huius compendii pars; | leaf b: nitus. admodum. cõfeſtim. omnino. cõtinẽter. cõtinuo. | 82b, line 30: Grammatice finis; | 83a, with sig. i.i: Elegancia ſecunda huius cempendii pars; | 140b, line 32: Eleganciarum finis; | 141a, with sig. A i.: Rhetoꝛica tercia huius compendii pars; | 164b, line 32: Rhetorice finis; | 165a, with sig. K.i.: Guillermi tardiui anicienſis ſuper eiuſdẽ | eloquencie compendium et pꝛimo ſuper | gꝛammaticam commentarium; | 208b, line 29: Codicum ordo; | Pꝛimus codex incipit Carolo octauo. ſic ſignatus . . | Alii autem per oꝛdinem ſic. a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. l. m. | n. o. p. q. r. A. B. C. K. L. M. N. O. P; |

The Benoit le Court copy, with his arms on sides of binding. Bound in old calf over wooden boards, sides tooled in blind, with four gilt fleurons. Copious contemporary manuscript notes throughout the volume. This copy described in Joseph Baer & Co. *Catalogue* 700, no. 91; purchased Nov. 1924. Apparently unique.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4851; *Second Census*, T17.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

TARDIVUS, GUILELMUS. In invidiosam falsamque detractionem ubicunque gentium responsio ac defensio. [Paris, Atelier du Soufflet Vert (Louis Simonel and associates), about 1480] 4°.

8 unsigned leaves, first, blank?, lacking. 32-33 lines. Type 78G, M2 (Claudin. *Hist. de l'imprimerie en France*, 1: 131)

leaf 1, blank. 2a: Guillermi tardiui anicienſis in ĩuidioſam | falſamq3 detractionem vbicunq3 gentium | lateat veriſſima reſponſio ac defenſio; | c^{3}um relacione falſiſſima | benedictis meis | ꝺẽpꝛauatis | . . . | 8a, line 17: . . . Et inuidioſis falſiſq3 me |is accuſatoribus ac detractoribus (quibus (ſi de- | trahere deſinant) condono) oꝛo parcatis; | 8b: blank.

Bound in modern green figured boards. In binding, the conjugate leaves 3 and 6 were transposed with 4 and 5; a blank leaf (not genuine) is carefully joined to leaf 8 to make conjugate leaves. Contemporary manuscript notes on verso of last leaf. The Olschki copy, his *Catalogue* 94: 837, and *Incunabula not in America*, no. 214. Also described in *Bibliofilia*, 14: 186: 35. Olschki is in error in calling the last leaf (instead of first) blank. Apparently unique.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 4520; *Second Census*, T18.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

Americana

The | female wanderer. | A very interesting tale. | Founded on fact, | [rule] | Written by herself. | [rule] | *Boston, (Mass.)* | *Published by Leonard Deming,* | *Corner of Merchant's Row & Market Square.* | [triple rule] | *Hooton & Teprell, Printers, 152, Ann Street* | *1820.* |

34, [2] p. 16 x 10 cm.

Advertisement of Leonard Deming, bookseller, barber, and hairdresser, on verso of title-page. Text of story, pages [3]-34 inclusive. Two poems, *Hail Friendship* and *The Wedding Day*, printed on pages [35]-[36] respectively.

The author, who styles herself Cordelia Krats (Stark?) of Agadnacas (possibly Sacandaga Park, a post-hamlet of Fulton county), New York, relates her wanderings from March, 1816, till June, 1818.

Not listed by Foley, Loshe, Roorbach, Sabin, Van Doren or Wegelin. MiU copy contains all 36 pages, but is unbound.

— Mrs. Emory C. Skarshaug

A Short | Account | of the | First Settlement | of the | Provinces | of | Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New- | Jersey, and Pennsylvania, | By The | English, | To which is annexed, | A Map of Maryland, according to the | Bounds mentioned in the Charter, and | also of the adjacent Country, Anno 1630. | *London* | *Printed in the Year MDCCXXXV.* | [2], 20 p. 4°. Map.

Sabin 80586.

In 1936 Professor Joseph E. Johnson of Williams noticed that a copy of this work at PPH contained the inscription "Capt. Hall's Book 1735" written in the hand of Ferdinand J. Paris, an attorney for the Penn family. Subsequently he found references by James Logan, John Penn and Thomas Penn which demonstrated conclusively that Hall was the author. Thomas Penn referred to the argument that the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary should be placed at the thirty-ninth parallel as "Fayr: Halls argument," while John Penn, approving of the argument and recognizing the obligation of the family, paid Hall 250 pounds in the winter of 1737/8 to cover his expenses relative to the publication of the *Short Account.*

Additional proof of Hall's authorship is to be found in a copy of a letter written and signed by Fayr Hall and docketed *Copy to James Logan Esqur, April 17th, 1736.* in the Cadwalader Collection at PPH which contains the following statements: "now I have shown in the small treatise which you have with you that ——," and "As to the opinion that the Dutch were prior in time to the Swedes in their settlements on Delaware River I must say that all the Books and Authoritys that I have read on that subject and most of which I have quoted in the 14th page of a Short Account ——." It is worthy of mention that at the time of the discovery of this letter two copies of this rare pamphlet were also turned up.

— Nicholas B. Wainwright

The uncertainty of a death-bed repentance, illustrated under the character of Penitens. [*Germantown, Printed by Christopher Sower, jr.*, 1756?]

16 p. 16.5 cm. *Bowe* film fac. *PHi.*

Contents. — The uncertainty of a death-bed repentance, illus. under the character of Penitens, p. [1]-6. — If any man hath ears to hear let him hear . . . p. 7-13. — Directions for a holy life. By the arch-bishop of Cambray, p. 13-16.

Hildeburn lists a 1756 edition under Fénelon. Evans brackets in the above imprint without a query, and attributes it, as well as several other editions of the same work, to Fénelon. Parsons in his *Early Catholic Americana* lists several editions of the work under the same author. Merrill's magazine article "Cath. authorship in the Amer. colonies before 1784" in *The Cath. Hist. Rev.*, v. 3, No. 3, Oct., 1917, item 22, attributes the work to Fénelon. These are evidently erroneous attributions, despite the ascription to the French prelate by most libraries and a number of printed sources. A search in several editions of Fénelon's complete works has failed to locate a French original. The error probably started from the fact that the last added tract (*Directions for a holy life*, p. 13-16) is signed by the arch-bishop of Cambray [*i.e.*, Fénelon]. Later editions of the tract on repentance are attributed to Fénelon, even though his short *Directions for a holy life* is omitted.

— Forrest B. Bowe

Modern Literature

Collins, Wilkie (1824-1889). The Woman in White. New York, 1860.

There are several states of this first American edition, as is generally known. The order of precedence of the three states I have seen is logically as follows: (a) "Mulock" spelled "Muloch" in two places in first page of advertisements at the back, and with the following page advertising *The Mill on the Floss;* (b) Miss Mulock's name is correctly spelled and eleven, instead of nine, books by her are listed, and the following page is as in (a); (c) the first page of advertisements is as in (b) and the second page advertises nine books by W. M. Thackeray. Each of these three states has advertisements at the front dated August 1860.

— Howard S. Mott

Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936). Departmental Ditties and Other Verses. Third Edition. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. London: W. Thacker & Co. 1888.

DLC copy varies from no. 13 of F. V. Livingston's *Bibliography of the works of Rudyard Kipling*, New York, 1927. Blue cloth binding; lettering and design stamped in black on front cover; back lettered in gilt. This copy has two additional leaves at the end, comprising "Departmental Ditties. Opinions of the Press on the First Edition." (pp. 1-3) and an advertisement of *Plain Tales from the Hills* (p. [4]). The first leaf forms part of the final signature; the other is inserted.

A second copy in DLC also varies from Livingston's description. This copy, in green cloth with design and lettering in gilt, also contains these two leaves and in addition forty pages of advertisements, dated March, 1888.

— Frederick R. Goff

Memoirs of a Nullifier; Written by Himself. By a Native of the South. Columbia, S. C.: printed and published at the Telescope Office, 1832. 110 p. 12mo.

One of the copies in the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina came to us in the Snowden collection, and like so many of "Y. S.'s" possessions is enriched by copious notes and clippings. On the flyleaf Professor Snowden has written:

"This booklet is the work of A. S. Johnston of Virginia, for many years a scholarly publisher of Columbia, S. C. . . . The brochure has been ascribed by some to Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama and I am informed that the copy in the British Museum gives Thomas Cooper as author, but Congressman Lewis's nieces, Miss Ellen Elmore and Mrs. Thomas Taylor, assured me that it was the work of Mr. Johnston and that 'Uncle Lewis' had nothing to do with it. Yates Snowden. Columbia, S. C., July 1, 1914."

E. J. Scott's *Random Recollections of a Long Life* (Columbia, 1884) states positively that Johnston was "the author and publisher of a small volume entitled *The Memoirs of a Nullifier*, a very caustic and witty production." Finally, Dumas Malone, in his definitive work on *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* (1926) says that in his opinion the attribution of the book to Cooper is "without justification. . . ."

Algernon Sidney Johnston (1801-1852) was born in Virginia, one of the ten children of Gen. Peter Johnston, Revolutionary soldier and judge, and his wife, a niece of Patrick Henry. Some time before 1827 Johnston went to South Carolina and was, at one time or another, bookseller, publisher and state printer, as well as a member of the city council.

The book has been noted on large and small paper; small paper, boards, cloth back, paper label on spine; large paper, boards, paper label on spine, entirely uncut.

— M. B. Meriwether

Osler, Sir William (1849-1919). The principles and practice of medicine.

I am grateful to Dr. Archibald Malloch of New York for pointing out that the first edition of Osler's famous textbook to appear in England was dated 1892, not 1894 as I had stated (*The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, 1941, Vol. 35, No. 2, p. 162).

The earliest English edition in the Los Angeles County Medical Association Library is dated 1894, and both Mrs. Mary E. Irish, the librarian, and I believed it to be the first. But Dr. Malloch writes me that the date in his copy is 1892. He further says: "In *reprinting* editions of the *Principles and Practice*, the publishers used to change the year on the title-page and that has caused confusion."

— William White

REVIEWS

DAY, CYRUS LAWRENCE, and MURRIE, ELEANORE BOSWELL. *English Song-books 1651-1702 A Bibliography with a First-line Index of Songs By Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie.* London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, Oxford, 1940 (for 1937). xxi, 439, [1] pp. Illus., plates, facsims., ornaments, music. 8⅝ x 6¾ inches.

Students interested in the corpus of collections of English songs, published from the middle of the seventeenth century to the early years of the eighteenth, are much indebted to Dr. Day and Mrs. Murrie for their careful and inclusive work in this field. *English Song-books 1651-1702* will prove an essential tool both to the literary student and to the music student. Although the former will find this book, in general, a little more helpful than the latter, nevertheless, both groups will come to rely upon it as an indispensable aid to research. The bibliography includes all English song collections with music, to the number of 204, published to 1703; in addition, there are 408 late editions of such works, originally published before 1703, which appeared between 1703 and 1730. The complete number of entries described is 252.

One of the joys of the bibliographical publications of the Bibliographical Society [of London] is the completeness with which bibliographical descriptions are printed. The Day-Murrie bibliography is no exception and the care exhibited in this respect in the main portion of the book extends not only to the listing of important variants and issues, but also to their description. Valuable aids are the numerous cross-references to other editions of the same entry and, in the case of works published in series, to other parts of the same publication. This is particularly helpful, since the main bibliography is arranged chronologically and hence various editions of one work and various parts of one series are necessarily scattered. One comparatively unimportant bibliographical correction may be made in connection with item No. 76, the unique copy of which is deposited at the Huntington Library. The last three leaves of this collection contain only the words of the songs and no music.

In dealing with a body of material, specimens of which are scattered on two continents, the student is grateful, especially now in a time of war, for information as to the location of copies. Some twenty-two institutions in England, Scotland and the United States have their holdings listed. The

listings are, in general, carefully done, but, doubtless because of the unfinished state of the official catalogue of that institution, some fourteen items at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C., escaped the record. For the convenience of those who may wish to annotate their copies of the bibliography, the following additional numbers should be accredited to the Folger Library, according to a letter, dated April 8, 1940, from Mr. J. G. McManaway to the reviewer: Nos. 12, 16, 45, 52, 99, 104, 107, 119, 125, 141, 210A, 220, 244 and 245. And, to complete the record of this sort of information available to the writer, it should be stated that No. 107 is also present at the Huntington Library, but of No. 114 the Huntington possesses only the November number.

It is a short step from the mention of the location of copies to one aspect of the bibliography which shows particular foresight on the part of the editors. In dealing with a period for which there is, as yet, no master record such as the *Short Title Catalogue* provides for the so-called "1640 period," the student quickly learns that, just as he has decided that such and such an item is a "ghost," lo and behold, a copy appears. Therefore, in making a complete listing of a given body of material, it is well to include such titles as seem to be "ghosts," with the hope that some day a copy will be found. Dr. Day and Mrs. Murrie wisely included such doubtful items and their wisdom was made manifest before their book was off the press, for No. 113 is now proved to exist and is in the hands of Mr. Walter N. H. Harding who, next to the British Museum, has the largest collection of books in the period under discussion.

Besides a careful description of the 252 items, chronologically arranged from 1651 to 1730, which make up the main part of *English Song-books 1651-1702*, the bibliography is not only embellished with facsimiles of title-pages of rare, unique and historically important collections, but is enhanced by facsimiles of the most frequently used devices and ornaments, by favorite engraved illustrations and by specimen pages from the collections to illustrate the three kinds of music printing: (1) the lozenge-shaped notes in type, (2) the two fonts of "tied-notes," also in type, and (3) engraved music.

Following the main bibliography are eight indices. These, especially the first, the index of first lines, will probably, in the long run, prove the most helpful part of the book. Postponing for the moment a discussion of the first-line index, let us speak of the remaining seven indices. Of these, the index to composers comes first. The numbers following each composer's name refer, not to the 252 entries in the main bibliography, but to the

appropriate compositions among the 4150 songs listed in the first-line index. This means that, to take John Abell as an example, instead of merely listing the numbers of the seven collections in which Abell's name appears as composer, we have references to the fifteen specific songs to which Abell's name as composer is attached. This is much the more exact method of listing and gives a very fair idea of the number of vocal compositions a given composer had published under his name in the period considered. It is to be regretted, in connection with this index, that James Cobb's songs, Nos. 8, 3292 and 3721, are all accredited to John Cobb and James Cobb's name has no place in the composer index. So, too, with James and John Hawkins. James, whose name does not appear in this index, should be accredited with songs Nos. 2754, 3173 and 4141.

The next index is to authors and this, like the index of composers, refers to the individual songs. Unlike the composer index, however, since Dr. Day and Mrs. Murrie have done much work in identifying the authors of the lyrics, the author index represents a much more complete survey of the material under consideration and, for this reason, this index will be of great value to the literary student.

The index of singers and actors, likewise referring to the first-line index, is very valuable to the student of the stage. Since many of the songs published in the song collections were originally sung in the theater, this fact, together with the name of the singer, is often included in the title of the song. Comparatively short though this index is, it is most helpful to have, for instance, a record of the sixteen songs contemporaneously accredited to the repertoire of Mrs. Bracegirdle. So, too, to know what actors and actresses were entrusted with singing parts at this time.

The index to the tunes and airs is also valuable. Here again, since, throughout, the emphasis is on the literary aspects of the problem rather than on the musical, the music student must proceed with caution. All too often, at this period, songs were published with such meaningless titles as "A New Song" or "A New Scotch Song." Therefore, when a title is given, it is usually the name of a folk tune or popular street tune. Since such tunes were often sung to various sets of words, sometimes the first line of a popular set of words became an alternate title for the tune; sometimes also, the catchy first line of the chorus became an alternate title for the tune. Thus, "A-Swearing We Will Go" (No. 3911) is the first line of the chorus of one of the political parodies of the old folk tune, "The Jovial Beggar"; likewise "A Beggar I Will Be" (No. 2741) is the first line of one lyric to "The Jovial Beggar." Here we have three alternative titles

for one tune, yet in the index there is no attempt to show that these are one tune. Nor is there any attempt to identify a tune unless the tune name is actually mentioned; thus, the original song of "The Jovial Beggar" (No. 3227 — There was a jovial beggar) is not listed under any of the three tune names in the index of tunes and airs. If the musician will remember that the index is only to the tunes named, he may find this index helpful for clues to tunes, even though it cannot be taken as a complete survey of the airs and tunes published in this period.

The index of sources is, on the other hand, very valuable, for, here again, Dr. Day and Mrs. Murrie have done much work. This index strives to locate the original publication in which a given lyric was published, whether with or without music. The index is by title and refers to the first-line index; information concerning author and publication date is included. Thus, the first item in the index is to Mrs. Behn's *Abdelazar, or the Moor's Revenge* of 1677, in which two songs, Nos. 2141 and 2158, were first published, although No. 2158 was not published in a music collection until 1679 and No. 2141 did not so appear until 1695. This 14-page index is sure to be of value both to literary and music students.

The last index but one is that to the song-books themselves and refers to the main bibliography. Here one may find listed by number in one place all editions of a given title or all parts of a given series.

The final index of the book is to the printers, publishers and booksellers concerned with the publication of the collections listed in the main bibliography.

To return now to the most important index — that of the first lines of some 4150 songs contained in the collections. This index is alphabetically arranged, according to the initial words of the first lines of the songs. The location, by page, of the song in each edition or issue of each collection in which it appears is given; the collections are indicated by bold-face numbers referring to the main bibliography. Besides this, the composer's name is given, if mentioned in the title; the author's name, if in the title; the singer's name, if mentioned; the tune name, if it appears in the title; and the source — usually a play — if that is given in the title. If the music is not printed — a few song collections have some songs for which the music is omitted for one reason or another— that fact is noted. In addition to all this, information as to the author — but *not* composer — the original source of the lyric and its date of publication, if earlier than when first printed with music, is supplied in square brackets wherever possible. Because of the immense labor of identifying the authors and sources of the lyrics, the

first-line index is invaluable to literary students. It should here be emphasized, however, that Dr. Day and Mrs. Murrie did *not* attempt to identify the composers of songs published without attribution and so the music student must use the first-line index with some caution.

In this connection, a word of warning to music students may not be amiss. In such cases as the eleventh song listed, "Adieu the pleasures and follies of love," the first two references show that James Hart's name as composer is mentioned in the title; the next six references are anonymous. Yet, it is not safe to assume that we have here one or two different anonymous compositions to the same set of words, for, actually, this is the same composition, printed without Hart's name, and the entry really represents only one composition. The obverse of this situation occurs in, for example, Nos. 553, 1130, 1615, 1776, 3485 and 3880, where, due to the chronological arrangement of the main bibliography, different editions of one composer's work are separated from one another by one or more compositions by other composers and one entry really represents from two to six compositions. If the music student will always remember that the index is primarily literary and secondarily musical, he will be able fruitfully to use it with a saving of time and annoyance.

A few other matters deserve comment. In dealing with operas, such as the Dryden-Grabu *Albion and Albanius*, only the lyrics are included in the index. In the case of a song in several parts, the parts are sometimes listed as separate songs, as in the case of Nos. 623, 489, 880, 891, 2667 and 2458, with no cross references to link them together, although in other cases, for instance, Nos. 971 and 1177, 869 and 2384 and 1720 and 4089, the parts are linked by an explanatory note. In song No. 2504, in the first reference given, Akeroyd's name as composer is inadvertently omitted.

Finally, it is a matter of wonder and admiration to this reviewer that only two page references in all the 4150 songs, involving at least double that number of references, are in error. Such a record of correctness sets a mark for the rest of us to aim at.

— Edythe N. Backus

Updike, Daniel Berkeley. *Some Aspects of Printing Old and New By Daniel Berkeley Updike* . . . New Haven, William Edwin Rudge, 1941. [3] ll., 72, [2] pp. Plate (port.) 10¼ x 7½ inches. $3.00.

"Papers tied together by a general subject treated from a number of angles" is, characteristically, the author's definition of this collection of essays on the craft and art of printing. Designed to be read before the De-

partment of Printing and Graphic Arts at Harvard University, the California Institute of Technology, and the Henry E. Huntington Library, they represent, in their printed form, the last words from Mr. Updike's pen, before his death, late last year. Never before has Mr. Updike written as clearly, as frankly, as penetratingly. Never before has he attained such perfection in both subject and style. Never before have his words had such deep inner meaning for a world at odds and in conflict.

"Gutenberg and His Relation to Printers Today" dispels the commonly accepted belief of the inventor's almost inhuman ingenuity, and pleads the cause of the human in the man. What particularly engrossed Gutenberg was, naturally, his invention and the perfection of it; it would be going too far to call him the father of all modern learning as has often been done, recently during the various celebrations of the five-hundredth anniversary. It was the casting of type that he put on a practical basis, while all the other phases of bookmaking, so often confused with his invention, had been tried before, and successfully so. We must praise his foresight, which was somewhat vague at first and became clearer later on, for his printed products had to compete, commercially, with fine manuscripts of the time, if he wanted to make any kind of success of it at all. Mr. Updike, furthermore, pays tribute to another reason for Gutenberg's greatness: his persistency in carrying out an idea and an ideal to the fullest degree of perfection. Updike himself has proven the secret of this very persistency, both as a scholar and a printer. Did not the Merrymount Press start work to make printing "better for its purpose than was commonly thought worth while?" And do not Mr. Updike's books and printing prove this noble aim?

In comparing Gutenberg with the printers of other centuries and periods, the author touches upon the fundamental principles of design and printing. The essay, entitled "The Essentials of a Well-Made Book," will be read, re-read, and remembered by everybody who has to do with books and printing, whether he be student or scholar, bibliographer or printer's devil. The author presents the "laws of bookmaking" from beginning to end, expertly and judiciously explaining their significance and their relationship to each other, simply and logically guiding us along the various stages that go into the making of a well-designed book. Whether it is the preparation of copy, so essential for correct casting-off, or the choice of type, based on what has been done in the past and what has been esteemed to the extent that it still lives, no matter; results can only be had if you give your very best, and more. Special, almost over-zealous, atten-

tion must be paid to format, that is: length of line, size of page, size of type, the designing and designating of such extra materials as front matter, notes and footnotes, prefaces, indices and appendices. Nor can the designer expect quality alone from these unless he watches the composition, proofreading, and furthermore, such technical and special phases, as make-up, imposition, paper and good presswork. All of these "phases" must be of the finest quality and contain that integrity of work, or professional pride, that has always been the secret of what is commonly called "success." The author advises us to have every detail, every step of production, thought out before even starting the job. Only then can we be spared disappointments and obtain results which will be "better than commonly thought worth while."

"Some Tendencies in Modern Typography" is eminently qualified to show us another side of Mr. Updike, the author and printer. In confronting such widely misused terms as "modern" and "conservative" he unleashes his tongue and wit. Is not much that is considered "modern" but a renewed effort of something already tried in earlier times? And to give the other side an honest break: why should the conservative sniff at typographical experimentation? Do not let us rest on the results of thoughts past, but let us exercise modesty in stating our own position.

"The Place of the Educated Man in the Printing Industry" is an entertaining paper, packed with Mr. Updike's personal experiences in giving advice to those fortunates or unfortunates in search of suitable employment in an industry of which they know nothing, but for which they have unlimited yearning. As the owner of one of the great American private presses, and as a figure in the printing world, it is only natural that his advice should have been sought more and more. Yet all this was not lost time to him because he enjoyed knowing people and their minds. He gave you advice freely when he struck a sympathetic chord; he lapsed into silence when the caller had failed to prove himself "the real thing." However, there was always kindness and, above all, wit in dealing with such callers. One day a young lady appeared, determined to enter the world of printing (because she liked to read). When she finally told him that it was her usual custom to fall into a trance upon the completion of a really beautiful example of typography — apparently swooning at the success of her own effort, she added: "because that is craftsman's ecstasy." When her patient though slightly perturbed listener laid no claim to any such emotional crises, she was disappointed and shortly thereafter departed. And Mr. Updike mused: "she seemed to feel (like the young persons in 'Gen-

tlemen Prefer Blondes' who saw women working in 'the Central of Europe') this is no country for we girls."

"American University Presses" is the most stimulating and provocative of the essays in the book. It is a subject heavily under discussion with no end in sight, nor is there any agreement by any two people at the same time. Mr. Updike, who had considerable experience in dealing with the learned institutions and their presses, and who was especially qualified to speak of their growth in recent years, clearly and expertly outlines their functions as they appeared to him, who had printed and published books for so many years himself. It was his belief that their main function should be the "publication of scholarly work produced in a scholarly way," not the competing with commercial publishers' so-called, or hoped-for, best sellers; nor the random publishing of local material not good enough to be taken up by another publisher. His suggestions for this perfect way of producing perfect books are significant and recommendable, though many an institution or university will not be in a position to follow them too closely. Particularly in the field of endowments, one of the fundamental requirements for university printing, we may have to pull our belts tighter in the near future. However, this alone should not be the reason for lowering of efforts, standards or taste.

As we begin to wonder what our place is, in the world of to-day, as printers and as bookmen, we may derive encouragement and comfort from Mr. Updike's "last word" which is: "to put into our job, whatever it may be, the order, integrity, and decency which we may feel is lacking elsewhere; to work calmly, intelligently, persistently at what we are about."

It is an added delight that the book was designed and printed by Mr. Updike at the Merrymount Press — a last word from his pen and one of the last of his pieces of typography. — KARL KÜP

WAGNER, HENRY R. *Bullion to Books; Fifty Years of Business and Pleasure. By Henry R. Wagner* . . . Los Angeles, The Zamorano Club, 1942. [6] ll., 370 pp. Front., plates, ports., facsim. 9 x 6 inches. Limited number of copies for sale by Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles. $6.00.

From the scholar's and librarian's point of view Henry R. Wagner of San Marino is the ideal bibliophile. First he collects books, then after studying them his knowledge is systematized in a published bibliography (generally at his own expense), and finally his collection instead of being retained as an idle hoard or dispersed piecemeal or at auction is transferred

en bloc to a library. Thus his alma mater, Yale, received an economics collection in 1910, one on Mexico in 1915, and in 1919 another on the Mississippi Valley and Texas. The Huntington Library houses Dr. Wagner's Plains and the Rockies, California and sixteenth-century Mexican imprints collections, while in the nearby Pomona College Library reposes the notable assemblage of books and maps from which he compiled several monumental works on west coast cartography and voyages. In San Francisco the California Historical Society (which he was instrumental in reviving in 1923) knows him as one of its most regular and generous donors.

Henry Wagner is thus in the great tradition of American businessmen-bibliophiles such as Brown, Clements, Huntington, McGregor, etc., who by their energy and vision have permanently enriched the country's cultural resources. His autobiography should be required reading for young bibliographers and librarians (older ones will need no urging); there exists no better revelation of the importance of the *individual collector* to American libraries.

The story of his thirty years in the West, England, Mexico and South America as a smelting expert for the Guggenheims is marked by shrewd reflections on men and events encountered. His inside account of the Mexican revolution of 1910 will be read with profit by historians. Then follow the latter twenty years of retirement from business, during which bibliography and history have been his life.

To crown these eighty years comes this autobiography, straightforward, lucid, larded with anecdotes and salted with characteristic Wagnerisms ("He was a courteous, high-minded gentleman with whom I had no fault to find except his politics. He must have been the forerunner of the present 'Harvard school' which affects the New Deal.") A check-list of the writer's ninety-eight published items and an excellent index conclude a volume whose typographical design by Gregg Anderson and production by the Ward Ritchie Press match the balanced integrity of its author.

— Lawrence Clark Powell

American Imprints Inventory. No. 26. A Check List of Nebraska Non-Documentary Imprints, 1847-1876. The Nebraska Historical Records Survey. Work Projects Administration. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1942. x, 132 pp. Mimeographed. 10¾ x 8¼ inches.

One would probably, on contemplating the heretofore recorded early Nebraska imprints, consider the local press to have been decidedly weak in

the production of important historical material. An examination, however, of the newly issued *Check List of Nebraska Non-Documentary Imprints, 1847-1876*, will cause a change in this view. True, one will find the usual complement of fraternal and religious organization proceedings, but also one will discover unique pamphlets, elusive county histories, scarcely known directories, rare productions of the Santee Indian Mission Press, not to mention obscure items on the Pacific Railroad, and the overland trail.

The bibliography is the result of the labors of the many workers connected with the American Imprints Inventory, whose findings were consolidated and edited by R. Harold Marks, Nebraska State Editor of the Inventory, with the assistance of Don Farran, now national consultant. A new departure has been followed in the compilation — which at present seems desirable — namely the omission of all works of a purely legal or official nature, reserving them for publication as a separate entity at a later date. Regretably the exigencies of the times occasioned certain other curtailments in the volume, and also created that most fatal of all enemies of polished bibliography, the deadline. What we have here then is less a finished production than a "preliminary" check list. Frequently we find the statement "complete description not available at time of publication." There is no historical introduction on the early printers; no analysis of holdings; titles were not checked against the Union Catalogue; there is no index.

While these shortcomings are serious, they do not detract from the usefulness of the volume so much as might be presumed. The important thing is that the check list gives a fairly complete record of existing imprints. As always, where the field is so comprehensive, some omissions are to be expected; but here they are probably not numerous. An army press was in operation at Fort Kearny during the War between the States and some of its products will no doubt come to light. The same may be said for certain editions of the Santee Mission Press. The rare Triggs broadsheet, *To the Gold Fields of the Black Hills!* described in the Paullin Catalogue and contained in the W. R. Coe and R. S. Ellison collections has failed to find record here. Another, and perhaps more glaring omission is that of S. B. Woolworth's *Guide to Denver and the Gold Mines of Salmon River*, Omaha, 1862, listed by Wagner-Camp, No. 384, and contained in the Thomas W. Streeter collection. However, the large number of ephemeral broadsides and the unusual body of unique pamphlet material bear adequate testimony to the painstaking care and extensive research of the compilers.

The first imprint recorded is Brigham Young's *General Epistle*, assumed to have been printed in 1847 on the Mormon Press at Florence, now a part of Omaha. This eight-page pamphlet contains an account of the pioneer overland journey of the Saints to Salt Lake early in the year and exhorts all the faithful to gather at the Missouri for a mass expedition in the spring of 1848. There is some disagreement as to whether the epistle was actually printed in Nebraska but the evidence now available, more particularly that educed by Douglas McMurtrie in his *The General Epistle*, Chicago, 1935, would seem affirmatively to settle the controversy. The Mormons, we are assured, had a printing press with them.

It was not, however, until eight years later — in 1855 — that the established press made its appearance. Almost all of the earlier printing emanated from Brownville and Omaha, although two other Missouri River towns — Nebraska City and Plattsmouth — account for a few pre-war imprints. Following the war Lincoln City commenced an increasing output, the Santee Press was operating, and Blair had several publications. By the centennial year we find crude and out-of-the-way "locals" issuing from Papillion, Sutton, Niobrara, Pawnee City, North Platte, Aurora, Tecumseh, St. Helena, Osceola, Columbus and Falls City.

Among the more interesting historical items listed may be mentioned [10] Morton's *Annual Message to the Third House*, a burlesque printed in Omaha, 1857; [16] Woolworth's *Omaha City*, Omaha, 1857; [31] *Sketch of Nebraska City*, locally printed in 1858; [36] Goss's *Bellevue, Larimer and St. Mary*, Bellevue, 1859; [497] *Great Central Route to Pike's Peak*, Nebraska City, 1859, unlisted in Dr. Hafen's recent bibliography of *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guides*, and known only in a single copy [W. R. Coe collection]; [44] Russell, Majors and Waddell's *Rules and Regulations*, 1859; the celebrated first Colorado Laws: [52] *Provisional Laws of Jefferson Territory*, Omaha, 1860; [93] Collins's *Directory [and Guide to the Montana Goldfields]*, Omaha, 1866; [500] Silversmith's *New Northwest*, Omaha, 1869; and [444] Triggs's *Reliable Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Gold Fields*, Omaha, 1876.

Without question this check list, which records some five hundred-odd non-documentary titles will prove of great interest and use to the historian, bibliographer, collector and librarian. Thanks are due Mr. Marks and all those connected with the project for its issuance.

CHARLES EBERSTADT

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME THIRTY-SIX FOURTH QUARTER, 1942

PROPOSAL OF HENRY STEVENS FOR A "BIBLIOGRAPHIA AMERICANA" TO THE YEAR 1700, TO BE PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION[1]

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

WHEN Henry Stevens proposed to the Smithsonian Institution of Washington in 1848 a plan for publishing a "Bibliographia Americana," it appeared to him to be a necessity. There was no comprehensive work extant, embracing the bibliographical details in all their minutiæ, which he had found from daily experience in his new business enterprise to be desirable. He was not the first one to realize that need. Indeed, his ideas had been anticipated, though left unfulfilled by others. The "tools" of trade available to him, as well as to others, were incomplete in titles and information; they were inaccurate and tantalizing.

For Spanish America he could turn to the *Epitome* of Antonio de Leon Pinelo, a little quarto published at Madrid in 1629, a title-a-line catalogue, the American section covering pp. 61-136,

[1] Read at the Society's meeting held in New York City, June 29, 1942.

where both printed and manuscript works were listed. In the greatly expanded edition, published at Madrid in 1737-1738, in three folio volumes, under his name, but attributed to Andres Gonzalez Barcia, the second volume (1738) is devoted to the writings, in print and in manuscript, of Hispanic America, but including also some titles of North American interest. All titles are given in Spanish, whether or no the originals were in that language. The work has many errors in titles and names, and far more than the large printed lists of errata reveal.

The earliest work in English was the *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia*, of the collection of White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, that had been given to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a collection since dissipated and dispersed through the years, even to our times. This volume, dated 1713, was delayed because of the compiling of the index, as revealed by the Rev. Robert Watts, in an "Advertisement," dated "London Nov. 1. 1714." The titles of separate publications and analytical references are arranged in a historical-chronological order, not by date of publication. The index of "Matters, Persons and Places" covers 224 unnumbered pages, only a little less than the catalogue itself. This collection, though recognized by its founder as limited, was conceived by him to become a "perfect *AMERICAN* Library, to contain all sorts of Books, Charts, Maps, Globes, instruments, and other Utensils, that can possibly tend to the more exact survey and Knowledge of the Earth and Seas, and Heavenly Bodies."

It was another English clergyman, the Rev. Arthur Homer, D.D., Rector of Stanlake, who issued at London in 1799 a four-page folio "Proposals for Printing by Subscription a new Work for the benefit of a Public Institution, entitled Bibliotheca Universalis Americana, or an Universal American Library; and the West Indies, from the first Discovery of those Countries by Columbus in 1492 to the end of the present Century." Dr. Homer was then a "Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford." A

detailed account of this project has been preserved for us in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 76, part 2, 1806, pp. 1208-1210, signed "Academicus," showing that "the Work was to consist of two quarto volumes" to be paid for "when the whole is completed," and it was "to be dedicated to Gen. Washington." The account continues:

> Several improved impressions of the Proposals and Prospectus were circulated in 1799, to which was annexed a numerous and respectable List of Subscribers. Upon the death of Washington "a necessary change in the intended Dedication" took place; and, in 1800, a new impression of the Proposals &c was published, in which was the following paragraph: "The Dedication will be addressed, by particular permission, to the Right Reverend Dr. Watson Bishop of Landaff, the learned and pious Author of the Apology for the Bible, as a sincere token of the Editor's esteem for his Lordship's defence of every thing most dear and valuable to man, in answer to the impious and heretical opinions of a person, whose work he shall necessarily have occasion to record." [by which Thomas Paine was meant.]

We learn from the account that Dr. Homer had contemplated "personally visiting the Continent of America, for the sake of obtaining more full and effectual information on the subject," and had become "Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society." Another impression of his Proposals was published in 1801, in which he pledged himself "to give up all the emoluments to the benefit of two distinct Funds" in England and the United States, those in England "to be applied to the use of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts: those in the United States to the purchase of books for the benefit of a Public Library in the new Federal City or University intended to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia," etc. At this time it was declared that "the number of Subscriptions already received" was "more than sufficient to defray the expences of the press." But Dr. Homer had not been able to carry out "his intended excursion to the Continent of America," and in 1803 "he addressed a printed letter to his subscribers," in which he announced "having 'entirely given up, or at least suspended for a considerable time,' the further prose-

cution of the work," and fully released his subscribers from the terms of their subscription. Dr. Homer died the next year, leaving unpublished the materials "collected at much expence" and at "infinite pains for several years."

I have given so much about Dr. Homer's meritorious project because of its parallel to that of Henry Stevens. Indeed, in No. 32720 of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary*, Sabin quoted from Henry Stevens about Homer's "promising project of a Grand Bibliotheca Americana in two quarto Volumes of 500 pages each," and then Sabin slyly added: "If the reader will consult the preface of Stevens' 'American Bibliographer' he will perhaps be inclined to run a parallel." It is not improbable that Stevens had learned of Dr. Homer's project from Dr. Jared Sparks, during the long period that Stevens was in Cambridge, using the Harvard College Library, just before he came to England on his first visit, which really established him in London, for Dr. Sparks was then in possession of a complete transcript of the Homer manuscript.

The Homer manuscript came into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, and formed the first entry in his earliest printed inventory of his library, recording acquisitions from 1824 to 1837, given briefly thus: "1 Catalogue of American Books. 5 vols. 8vo. ch. half bd," and nothing more. Now, Jared Sparks, while engaged during his residence at Mount Vernon in the examination of the original papers of George Washington, found there a copy of Dr. Homer's printed prospectus, and he wished to learn if the unpublished manuscript could be located. His search was fruitless until he went to England and passed a week in November, 1840, among the large collections of Sir Thomas Phillipps, especially to examine the Homer manuscript. The "liberal and generous hospitality" of Sir Thomas was not confined to the receptions in his own house. Indeed, Sparks was permitted to take the Homer manuscript to London and have it copied, which, says Sparks, "was made for

me in 1841." Sparks described the original manuscript as in "five volumes, one of which appeared to have been his first sketch, and the other four the work as completed," and the whole extended "to about 1600 pages closely written," the "titles alphabetically arranged according to the Authors' names and the principal heads of the subjects of anonymous works with reference to the Libraries where they are to be found."

The remaining history of the Sparks transcript of Homer is as much involved as the original. I am indebted to Mr. William A. Jackson of The Houghton Library of Harvard University for the clue that led me to research for the Sparks transcript, and to my friend and former colleague, Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, Librarian of Cornell University, and his Associate Librarian, Mr. E. R. B. Willis, for information about it. I also found out that this manuscript and a transcript of Antonio de Alcedo's unprinted "Bibliotheca Americana" of 1807 (of which Sparks had a transcript made in 1843 while it was in the possession of Obadiah Rich, of London), were not included among the gift of the Sparks Manuscripts to Harvard College; but were both sold with the Library of Jared Sparks, in 1872, *en bloc*. The original Alcedo manuscript was acquired by James Lenox and is in the Rich Collection in The New York Public Library. The Sparks transcript of Homer is collated by Mr. Willis as

> in eight bound volumes containing 2521 pages written on one side, [and] each entry is followed in three ruled columns by size, place, and date. Pages are given on a great many entries and it might be possible to prove on examination that Homer gave pages where he knew them. References are often made to catalogues and periodical publications where presumably there are further descriptions of the titles. [Mr. Willis adds:] As evidence that it was purchased by Ezra Cornell and given to Cornell University as part of the Sparks library, there is a bookplate in each volume which specifically gives all that information.

A work which Stevens would not have consulted, but which has a place in the record of early endeavors, is the first American booktrade *Catalogue of all Books printed in the United States . . . Published by the Booksellers of Boston January 1804*, of which less than

half a dozen copies are recorded as now extant; but which Adolph Growoll had reprinted by The Dibdin Club in 1898, in an edition of only fifty copies.

The remaining chief reference sources to American bibliography available in 1848 included the bibliothecas of D. B. Warden, printed at Paris in 1820, 1831, and 1840; Obadiah Rich's *Catalogue of Books relating principally to America*, London, 1832, arranged from 1506 to 1700, by date of printing, with numerous notes that are often critically valuable; also Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana Nova*, London, 1835, being part 1, for the years 1701 to 1800, in which the chronological items are numbered under each year, and not continuously throughout the volume. Part 2, covering the years 1801 to 1830, published in London, 1844, promised "a third part" as "in preparation," and "bringing it down to the present time, with a Supplement of Books omitted and Index." Instead, Rich added another "Vol. II. 1801-1844," London, 1846, and in a "Notice," said: "The Supplement to this work, of Omissions, and Additions, having increased to a much greater bulk than was expected, will be published in a separate volume, in which the works relating to particular places and subjects, will be arranged under their respective heads." But Rich, in this, as in other announced publications to "be published with all convenient speed," did not make good.

A Canadian source, that had its uses in the mid-nineteenth-century period, was G. B. Faribault's *Catalogue d'Ouvrage sur . . . l'Amérique*, Quebec, 1837. But the work which, more than any other, was the check-list for the principal collectors and libraries of Americana, was by Henri Ternaux, later called Ternaux-Compans, namely, his *Bibliothèque Américaine ou Catalogue des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique*, Paris, 1837, arranged chronologically by imprint date, from 1493 to 1700, a quarto of 191 pages, embracing 1,153 numbers, printed with wide margins for annotating, and which collectors like James Lenox interleaved for further additions. Ternaux gives no collations or pagination. It

was by the numbered titles in this work that the dealers reported their wares to customers, or by the citation "not in Ternaux." This remarkable Frenchman deserves more attention from us than he has received. He was born in 1807, and died in 1864, oldest of four sons of Louis Ternaux, and nephew of Guillaume Ternaux (1763-1833), called Baron Ternaux, Deputy of the Seine and Officer of the Legion of Honor, as well as one of the most prominent industrialists of his time in France. At the age of fourteen Henri Ternaux was sent to pursue his studies in Germany, from 1821 to 1826 at the lyceum of Ilfeld, and afterwards at the University of Göttingen, where he attained a doctorate with honor. He went to England, and acquired the English language, as he had for the most part those of central Europe, through his singular aptitude for acquiring foreign languages, inspired by the idea of following a diplomatic career. He was secretary to the French legation in Bavaria from November 1, 1830, till July 5, 1832. He had travelled in America in 1828-1830, had acquired an interest in the history of the New World, and wished to concentrate his attention on the period before 1700, because he considered that works published in the eighteenth century had very little interest. So, as he says, he was a long time engaged in bringing together all the older accounts (*les anciennes relations*) that he had been able to procure. In a letter to the President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen, in September, 1837, he said he believed he possessed the completest collection of manuscripts and old books relating to America existing in Europe. We know how well he made use of them by publishing in French his two series of twenty volumes of memoirs on the conquest of America. Many of the rare books from his collection were bought by John Carter Brown; others passed to James Lenox, the British Museum, and elsewhere on their dispersion.

From London, on September 3, 1847, Henry Stevens informed James Lenox of his intention to leave in a week on "a flying tour on the continent, Paris, Munich, Berlin &c. to return

to London on the 5th Oct.," and that he would not leave London for America "until the 18th October." On November 7th Stevens wrote Lenox from Boston: "I arrived here in the Caledonia. Before going to N. York I must visit my mother in Vermont. I shall try to be in N. Y. before the 25th." Stevens having completed his visit home in Vermont, returned to Boston, and on November 24th proposed a visit to New York, putting up at the Astor House, which became his New York headquarters during his American stay from this time till the autumn of the next year (1848). It was during this year that Stevens promoted his plan for a "Bibliographia Americana" and arranged with the Smithsonian Institution of Washington for its publication. He had first to interest his American clients and others in providing subsidies for preparing the work.

James Lenox had been a customer of Stevens since the summer of 1846, but they had not met before the autumn of 1847, when a meeting was arranged between them at the Lenox mansion. On May 27, 1848, we find the first intimation from Stevens to Lenox of his contemplated bibliographical project. He wrote:

> I will write you soon about my "Book titles" which I have collected — and also about my plan for publishing a Bib[liographia] Americana. I have talked with Prof. Jewett the librarian of the Smithsonian & others about it & also with Mr. Brown. I have no doubt that if you, Mr. Brown, Harvard College, Mr. Force & the British Museum would contribute towards the making of the catalogue so as to have it embrace every book on America which may be in your library or Mr. Browns or Harv. College, Force or the B. Museum that the Smithsonian Institute[*sic*] will publish it in their "Contributions to Knowledge"— In that case the work will be printed in the style of the Exploring Expeditions & will be circulated free by the Institute[*sic*] all over the world.

Mr. Lenox made no reference to the subject in his "Memorandum" endorsement. He was, perhaps, waiting for developments. These came a few weeks later.

Stevens in Boston wrote, on June 20th, advising Mr. Lenox of details of his plan, even before he had formally submitted it the next month, as we shall see, to the Smithsonian Institution. He wrote:

You may remember my having spoken to you several times about a *Bibliographia Americana* which I propose publishing. By the assistance of Mr. Sparks & Prof. Jewett the librarian of the Smithsonian I have at length matured my plan for the work, which plan I now beg leave to submit to your consideration. I propose within eighteen months to get ready for the press a full bibliographical and historical account of all the books I can hear of, or see, in the principal public & private libraries in Europe & America, relating to or printed in America, prior to the year 1700 — The basis of the catalogue is to be made from the books in the Library of the British Museum, the library of Harvard College, your own Collection & that of Mr. Brown. But besides the books in these 4 collections I propose to add all others that I can find in any other libraries. So that when the work is done it will not only be a complete catalogue of all the books in your own collection but will also be a full catalogue of books *not* in it. The titles are to be arranged alphabetically with numerous cross references. There will be two copious indexes — one of the books according to subject — & the other according to the year in which they were printed. The titles in all cases are to be given without abridgment, with imprint or colophon & every book will be described & a full *collation* given. The prices will be given as far as they can be ascertained, at which the several books have been sold — Bibliographical notes will be given when deemed necessary — Translations will be collated & compared with the originals & their variations & comparative merits will be indicated. Subsequent editions will be compared with the former and their differences and peculiarities noted. — Peculiarities of copies, as large paper, vellum, uncut, cancel'd leaves &c will receive attention. Under every title entered in the catalogue I propose to indicate the several libraries in which it may be found. In a word the catalogue is to be the fullest, best & most carefully made catalogue that was ever published — Of course I shall not be able to do all the work myself within 18 months, but I propose to employ one or two gentlemen in the B. Museum to assist me, especially in the comparison of the translations &c. Mr. Watts who understands 25 languages will assist me.

You will see that the work must be voluminous if the titles are to be given in full, with a collation of each book, price, notes & names of possessors. But to obviate the objection of making the work too expensive I propose to have it published by the Smithsonian Institution — It will form probably two volumes in 4to of the Smithsonian "Contributions to Knowledge," & will be printed in the style and size of the United States Exploring Expedition. I have not yet seen Prof. Henry on the subject, but Prof. Jewett says that Bibliography is one of the subjects considered. He is sure the Committee will be glad to publish such a work. If then they consent to publish it this is a sufficient guarantee that the work will be done well.

Granting that the book will be published in this way & that the contributors towards the expense of preparing it are to receive some ten or more copies free, I have then only to look out for the expenses of preparing it for the press.

Now my expenses in visiting the chief libraries on the continent & in England as well as in this country — and the employing of clerks & translators — will be very great. I therefore propose that the work shall be a complete catalogue of *all* the libraries that shall subscribe their proportion towards the expense of preparing it for the press. For instance — supposing you subscribe £150 toward the work[,] any book that you may possess relating to or printed in America prior to 1700 will be entered in the catalogue & your name be mentioned as the possessor — so of Mr. Brown, Harvard College, B. Museum, Bodlean [*sic*] &c &c. as many as may unite in the cataloguing. It will not only contain the books you now possess but such as you may procure during the next 18 months.

As to pay I do not ask it until the manuscript is delivered into the hands of the Smithsonian & *accepted* by them. Harvard College has already agreed to subscribe £100 toward it, but I am in hopes that they will make it £150. Mr. Sparks approves of the plan & seems quite desirous that it should be carried out.

I have not yet received Mr. Brown's opinion on the matter but from what he told me repeatedly I feel confident that he will subscribe £150 & I hope you will feel inclined to do the same. You will perceive that my plan has been enlarged since I saw you.

I cannot I find give you a distinct idea by writing & I should therefore be glad to see you in the course of a week or two on the subject. Shall be in N. Y. any time soon or can I meet you at New Hamburgh for a short time?

I should like much to talk over the matter with you — before going to see Prof. Henry.

Mr. Lenox in replying on June 22d, said he thought £150 to be "too much." In his reply of June 26th, Stevens pressed the matter further thus:

Since my last to you I have seen Mr. Brown, Prof. Henry & Prof. Jewett in reference to my Bibliotheca Americana — Prof. Henry & Prof. Jewett approve the plan entirely and they assure me that the Smithsonian Institution will publish the work in the best style, and besides will go to the expense of some 20 engravings. Prof. Henry also thinks that they may also subscribe for some of the American libraries which may not be able to do so themselves. I saw him at Princeton on Saturday. He seems desirous that the work should be made as complete and perfect as possible and that as many of the public and private libraries of this country should be represented as possible. As the work pertains more particularly to the Department of the Librarian Prof. Henry seems inclined to refer the matter chiefly to Prof. Jewett — Mr. Brown approves highly of the plan and says that he can make no objection to it but the expense. If the work is to be done he desires that it should be done in style. He will, he thinks, contribute his proportion towards the work, but he does not seem inclined to lead off. — He told me to consult you on the matter & he would then subscribe his proportion. The whole

matter then of the enterprise seems to rest upon your decision. If you subscribe £150 to be paid on the acceptance of the MS. by the Smithsonian Institution, I feel confident Mr. Brown will do the same and as Harvard College has already agreed to subscribe and the officers of the Smithsonian are inclined to publish such a work, the whole enterprise now seems to rest upon your decision. I do not think, and (I have come to this estimate by the council[*sic*] & advice of Mr. Sparks) that £150 is more than your proportion of the expense of collaborating such a work. Your copies of De Bry, Hulsius, Thevenot, Ramusio, Hakluyt, Grynaeus, Purchas, Dampier, &c &c, will fill up a good portion of the work. Again if you contribute £150 (or $750.) you will be entitled to receive 15 copies of the work when published by the Smithsonian, or 1 copy for every $50. The work will contain not only a bibliographical and historical account of every book you possess relating to or printed in America prior to 1700 but also all such others as I can learn of elsewhere which you do not possess. The £150 will also cover not merely such books as you *now* possess but all such as you may procure during the next eighteen months, that is till January 1850, the time I propose to have the MS ready for the press. The work will thus be of service to you in enabling you to know which you do not possess — The titles as they are prepared will be sent you to be compared with your copy of each work — and each book which you have not may be noted before you send the titles to Mr. Brown or elsewhere. Again my going through the various libraries of Europe, will enable me to find many duplicates which I can probably procure in recompense for the catalogue. It is not probable that such libraries as those of Bodlean[*sic*], Hanover, Munich, Göttingen &c. will be willing to pay me money but they will pay me in duplicates. This is then not only a plan for making a complete catalogue of yours and other American libraries but a plan for completing said libraries by furnishing both titles and books. The British Museum even I presume will prefer to pay me in duplicates, for my researches in making the catalogue will indicate the duplicates. In order to have the work done within 18 months I shall be obliged to employ Mr. Watts as a linguist & two or three other copyists to assist me. I intend to labor myself and to superintend the whole work. In every library that contributes, I intend to compare the titles written with the books & see that they are right. While my copyists are making titles in the British Museum I can compare those already made with the books in the Bodlean[*sic*] or other libraries.

The expense of the work will be so great that I dare not undertake it, with the view of carrying it out in the best style unless I am sure of being recompensed for my time and expenses of travel & assistance. In case you subscribe $750 others will subscribe liberally in proportion and the work can be done then in the best manner. The 1000 copies published by the Smithsonian Institution and distributed free all over the world will prevent any sale of the work worth mentioning — so that I must look for my pay entirely to the contributors.

I shall go tomorrow [June 27] or next day to Boston to consult with Prof.

Jewett & to get out a printed prospectus giving a full description of the plan of the work. I am very anxious to see you & to talk with you on the subject & will meet you in New York on the 11th July as you propose that will suit you.

As an extra inducement for you to subscribe £150 or $750. I am willing for the next 18 months to pledge to you the *first refusal* of all such books as I may procure which you have not already. An early decision *by you* is important to me, as I can then bring Mr. Brown, Mr. Force, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Crowninshield & others to the point and until you lead off I fear I cannot do it. They all approve highly of my plan but do not seem inclined to lead off in the matter.

Stevens said that Professor Henry was expecting to see Mr. Lenox at Princeton, and would then probably discuss the catalogue; and Stevens added:

If you can decide about the amount you are willing to subscribe towards our catalogue before you come to N. York [meaning from the country], I shall be glad. It seems to me you cannot have a catalogue of your collection so cheap in any other way and this 750$ will be but a very small percentage of the whole cost.

Mr. Lenox replied to this pressing proposal of Stevens on June 29th, from New Hamburgh. He wrote:

I will agree to pay $750 to assist in making your catalogue upon the conditions you suggest, viz:—

1 — The money to be paid upon the acceptance of the MS. by the Smithsonian Institution for publication.

2 — The books in my collection to be noticed & collation of the rarer works to be introduced.

3 — The titles to be sent to me, to be compared with mine, and in such times as to include all I may possess up to 1 Jan. 1850.

4 — I am to receive a copy for every $50. subscribed or 15 copies for $750.

5 — You agree to pledge to me for the next 18 months, the *first refusal* of all such books as you may procure which I have not already.

These conditions are, as I have said, contained in your letter, and I enumerate them that you may have them clearly before you as conditions of my subscription. It does not occur to me to add any thing to them at present except that I would like you to promise also to change any books I may have, if you should procure more perfect copies.

Mr. Stevens, writing from Hartford, where he was with friends on July 4th, accepted Mr. Lenox's conditions of subscribing as correct. Stevens agreed to meet Mr. Lenox at his home in New York on July 11th at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The time had now arrived for the plan for a "Bibliographia Americana" to be established. The preliminaries, so much fathered by Mr. Lenox's agreement to lead off, had been hurdled. Stevens had gone from Hartford to Boston, and it was from there, on July 7, 1848, that he wrote the following letter, addressed jointly to Joseph Henry as secretary, and Charles C. Jewett as librarian, of the Smithsonian Institution:

> Gentlemen: I beg leave to offer for your consideration the enclosed plan of a Bibliographia Americana, and to solicit for the enterprise the patronage and encouragement of the Smithsonian Institution.
>
> I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient and humble servant.
>
> Henry Stevens.

Before Professors Henry and Jewett had made a formal statement of approval and acceptance of the project, conditionally, on the 17th of July, Secretary Henry had in the intervening days drawn up a circular letter, which he sent to several persons for advice, for an expression of opinion, "as to the importance of such a work, and whether it would be of sufficient interest to the student of American history to warrant its publication in the series of volumes forming the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." The responses that filtered in during the summer from John G. Palfrey, Peter Force, Jared Sparks, Samuel F. Haven, of the American Antiquarian Society, and U. S. Senator J. A. Pearce on behalf of the Joint Committee on the Library, all favored the plan, and several showed their confidence by subscribing two hundred and fifty dollars toward its furtherance. The plan, the correspondence, comments, and conditions, are all printed in the *Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, giving an account of the operations of the year 1848. Presented December 13, 1849*, to the Board of Regents, p. 17, and Appendix A, pp. 55-60. Secretary Henry reported the conditions to be as follows:

> A certificate has been given to Mr. Stevens to the effect that this work, if found, by a commission to whom it shall be referred, properly executed, will be accepted for publication as part of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.

Assured by this certificate that the work will be properly executed, a number of gentlemen and institutions, whose libraries will be examined and referred to, have liberally subscribed to defray the necessary expense of its preparation. With this encouragement, Mr. Stevens has started for Europe to commence investigations in foreign libraries. To satisfy ourselves as to the importance of work of this kind, a circular letter was addressed to a number of individuals distinguished for their knowledge of such subjects, and the answer in all cases was highly favorable to the scheme.

Because the original three-page Prospectus is now rare, a reproduction of it accompanies this study. The "Plan of the Work" is defined in twelve numbered paragraphs, and there are five numbered major paragraphs giving the details on the "Preparation of the Work for the Press," and a statement on the conditions of "Publication of the Work," which are predicated on "the Rules of the Institution as published in the *Programme of Organization*, of Dec. 8, 1847." It has already been shown that Stevens had "hoped that sufficient force" could "be advantageously employed upon the work, to prepare it for the press in eighteen months, and that until it was completed according to plan, and the manuscript "delivered to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution," to be submitted by him "to a commission of competent judges," subject to a favorable report by them, the manuscript could not be put to press and collection of funds subscribed for the preparation of the manuscript could not be expected. Mr. Stevens had reported that the required sum of five thousand dollars had been virtually subscribed. He seemed to be assured by this encouragement. The success or failure of the project lay now in his lap. Could he make good? That is another story. It follows the deadline of January, 1850, that he had set for the completion of the manuscript.

Bibliographers have too often been good promisers, and thereupon gone on the rocks. Too often in their enthusiasm have they failed to realize in an undertaking the weight of labor and consumption of time, costs, errors, and disappointments, pressure of other obligations in the struggle to make a living and keep

away creditors and an undertaker. Let us now see how these things affected Henry Stevens's "Bibliographia Americana."

We have seen that Stevens's "Bibliographia Americana" was projected and publicized in 1848. In that year young Joseph Sabin, fresh from his Oxford bookshop, landed in Philadelphia, soon to be employed there and in New York City by the Appletons, until he began, in 1855, his own business in the Quaker City as a dealer in fine editions of domestic and foreign publications. While yet a resident of Philadelphia he published an advertisement in the *Historical Magazine* of May, 1859, entitled: "Prospectus of an American Bibliographer's Manual" to be known as "A Bibliographical Dictionary of Books relating to America. From its discovery to the present time; also, of Books printed in the United States before A.D. 1800, with their current or approximate value." After his removal to the City of New York, Sabin revealed in another prospectus, of December 5, 1866, how he had been projecting his "Dictionary" for fifteen years and had spent the last four of them, that is from 1862, in preparing his first volume for publication. I ask you to bear these data in mind and to make your own conclusions of their effect in relation to Stevens's "Bibliographia Americana," whose plan, limited originally to the year 1700, had been extended by Stevens in later announcements to come down to his own day. It seems to me that Stevens's procrastination lost him the honor which has fallen to Sabin, and we know that Sabin's "Dictionary" began with its first printed part in 1866, was suspended in 1881 when Sabin died, was revived and continued by Wilberforce Eames from 1884 till 1892, and again virtually suspended from 1893 to 1924, and revived again in 1927, modified in plan in 1929 by inclusion and exclusion, until finally completed after procurement of thousands of dollars in subventions during this time and before, and at long last publication in 1936 of the twenty-ninth and final volume ending with the ejaculation of "Laus Deo" of our colleague, its third editor, Robert W. G. Vail.

Henry Stevens, it should be allowed to his credit, was meticulous in his objective, and a better bibliographer than Sabin. Both men realized their inadequacies, and the plague of inaccuracy.

In the copy-press letter-books of Henry Stevens now at the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, which I have examined from 1852 to 1856, through the kind co-operation of Dr. Randolph G. Adams, I have found invaluable reverberations of Stevens's lingering project. The letters of 1852 are especially revealing. To his friend Lucius F. Robinson, of Hartford, Connecticut, he wrote on February 20th:

> I am now hard at work printing off the results of my investigations — toward my great work — I am privately printing only 25 copies — in order to secure greater accuracy — By next June I hope to print off 6 small quarto volumes of this work, at a cost of about £350. Then I shall have something to show for my long labors, & though the work will not then be completed, yet it will be placed beyond the reach of accident.
>
> When these six volumes have been printed I shall work the matter up revise, correct & add to, & finally have the whole printed by the Smithsonian Institution —

On March 5th Stevens wrote George Livermore that he was "getting on pretty well" with his printing, but had "concluded to send *revises* instead of *proof*" to him. To George Putnam, the publisher-bookseller, he wrote on May 7th:

> I am now printing off my work for the Smithsonian Institution — that is I am printing off only 25 copies, merely to have it put in type as well as I can now & then work it up to be reprinted with the MSS. additions by the Smithsonian — I am printing it in the style & size of the "Contributions" and hope during the summer to get some 1000 pages in type.

On May 7th he wrote also to James Lenox, in a more bibliographic temper:

> You need not return the printed titles I have sent you. I have been somewhat delayed in my printing but am now at it again. I have concluded to modify it so as to print the pages in the size of the "Smithn Contributions" in double columns — I have got a large lot of it already in type with the collations, but am now delayed in striking it off as I have got to have cut two or three new letters & a few wood cuts. I hope by next week or the week after at any rate to send you a specimen of one 4to sheet in eight pages. This will be the life & works of Cortés.

When you get this you will have my idea in full, & then I wish you to offer your suggestions. Panizzi says: "By Jove, I hope you will live to see the Finis."

On June 4, 1852, Stevens wrote a revealing letter to his mother, in which he said:

I am in excellent health and thank God am prosperous and happy — My circle of friends is constantly widening & I find my mode of life in London very agreeable. I have not by any means however forgotten dear old home and hope sometime before long to see it. I had intended to have visited America this summer, but I have abandoned the idea, reluctantly, I have been so long upon my great work for the Smithsonian Institution, and have collected so much information which is nowhere else but in my memory — that I dare not quit England without clearing up the matter, writing it out, arranging it and printing it off. This will put the work then beyond the reach of accident & I shall then feel that I have done something well for my Country and my self, & *you*. I am now so far along in the work, & have received such favorable notices of it that I hope I shall not be deemed very egotistical if I say that when done it will be a work that will due[*sic*] me much credit, and be a most acceptable contribution to the Historical Literature of America.

Moreover, Stevens told his mother that on the preceding May 27th he had been elected a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and entitled to add the initials F.R.S.A. to his name, being "the only American Member, in the regular way," though Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Everett and Squier were honorary members.

Some of the reasons for interruption are revealed in Stevens's letter to John Carter Brown, of September 10th:

I am pushing on with my *Bibliographia Americana*, but I am every day cornered for some early facts about Cortes & Mexico — I want very much to read *Puga. folio. Mexico* 1563. You have a copy and so has Mr Lenox — I wish also very particularly to see your copy of the original edition of *Galvano* —

Though Stevens had announced printing off trial sheets in an edition of only twenty-five copies, he had ere long changed both the plan and size of the edition. To Charles Deane he wrote on May 12, 1853:

I am over head and ears in work. Am progressing with my Bibliographia Americana slowly, but yet progressing. I shall sometime ere long send you a

volume of some 400 pages to look at. I print only 99 copies & shall be very particular in placing them.

In a communication to Mr. Lenox, of January 6, 1854, Stevens wrote:

I am going on with the printing of the catalogue of which I sent you the 1st 96pp. but shall issue it as a monthly periodical. This will drive me forward regularly with my Bibliographia Americana. *I send you another copy of my prospectus or circular.*

Now, the "prospectus or circular" referred to, of four pages of various matter, included a letter dated "Nov. 30, 1853," announcing "Stevens's American Bibliographer," thus:

On the first of January, 1854, and on the first of every following month, will be issued in London, and on the fifteenth of each month in New York, a monthly periodical under the above title. Only one hundred copies will be printed and only 75 Subscriptions will be received, viz. 50 from America and 25 from Europe. It will be printed by Whittingham, in the best style of the Chiswick Press, on thick superfine paper, in royal octavo form, with 48 pages at least in each number, and with a new type of which this notice is a specimen.

My object in issuing this periodical is to "book" materials for my *Bibliographia Americana* which I have for some years been preparing for the Smithsonian Institution, and to receive the co-operation of librarians and bibliographers in the examination and collation of rare books relating to America. I have advanced sufficiently far in my *Bibliographia Americana* to know that it is perfectly impossible to prepare the *copy* in manuscript with sufficient accuracy to print from at a time and place when and where the rare book described cannot be referred to. I therefore in this periodical shall print the titles of each work in full, and correct the proofs from the books themselves as they pass through my hands, or are found in the library of the British Museum or elsewhere. Brief collations of each work will be given with notes, illustrations, etc. Although no expense or pains will be spared to secure accuracy in this preliminary issue, yet desiring to interfere as little as possible with the *Bibliographia Americana*, I deem it necessary to limit the whole number of subscribers to 75, and hope I may be fortunate enough to secure as subscribers in the United States 50 librarians and bibliographers, who will be kind enough to point out to me such inaccuracies and variations as they may detect in comparing my titles and observations with their own.

As an inset of this circular Stevens showed a "Specimen" title of the second edition of the fourth relation of Cortes, lined off, with collation by leaves and signatures. The price of subscription

was set at five shillings per number or fifteen dollars for a year, payable in advance. Only two numbers were issued, respectively dated January and February, 1854, embracing only ninety-six pages of titles, from "Abingdon (Earl of)," to an incomplete title of "Cure (A) for the Spleen." The collations are of two kinds, with or without line-divisions, and with the simpler lumped paging, and occasionally analytical collating. In other words, the system was largely a prototype of Sabin's *Dictionary*. In five pages headed "Preliminary" Stevens discoursed on the need of "a larger, more comprehensive and more accurate Bibliotheca" than had yet appeared, and he now extended his scope and plan to comprise "a description of all books relating to America from the earliest period to the year 1789, and of the principal books printed in America from 1543 to 1789, together with notices of many of the more important unpublished Manuscripts." He considered his periodical as a "preliminary issue" to the more grandiose plan of the "Bibliographia Americana," and said the periodical would "be continued so long as materials for it can be found, probably two or three years." But this was not to be.

None the less, Stevens labored on toward the fulfilment of his dream, referring to it in his correspondence and his publications, especially his *Historical Nuggets*, vols. 1 and 2, first produced in proofs in 1857-1858, but not published till 1862; in the *Bibliotheca Americana*, a catalogue of Henry Stevens's stock, sold by Puttick and Simpson, of London, in 1861; in the catalogues of Americana prepared by him for the British Museum in 1856 and 1859; and, singularly enough, in a "Prospectus" issued in 1885 by Henry Stevens and Son announcing the plan for publishing by subscription a second series of the *Historical Nuggets*, to be in "about eight volumes," but of which only two parts of the third volume, in continuation of the two volumes of 1862, appeared in May and August, 1885, carrying the letters A and B to Charles Bachus. And this dream was also not consummated in print.

In the introduction to his first volume of the *Nuggets* in 1862,

addressed "To the Diligent Biblioscoper," Stevens most interestingly and intimately discoursed on the woes of the bibliographer. It is too long to print here, but deserves the attention of every bibliographer. In the joint preface of the Stevenses to the 1885 *Nuggets* they conclude, and with it this paper concludes, thus:

> We own to having once, a long time ago, had pride of accuracy in cataloguing, but we now confess that our experience during the past half century has well nigh taken it out of us. We have never seen a perfect Catalogue . . . Still, we have in our day done our share of cataloguing, and are not yet disposed to go to the wall, without another trial, . . . We are still sustained by a lingering pride not to be outdone in American Bibliography by others, notwithstanding our faults in other departments, believing that wholesome vanity in our new method is better than the ordinary dulness of the old system of cataloguing by our predecessors and contemporaries. With these shortcomings and discouragements confessed, and an approval of our method assumed, we venture to ask the patient public, at its own expense, to indulge us one more attempt to gratify our surviving love of accuracy and fullness in scientific bibliography, in this department, but without any pretensions to complete registration of *all* the books relating to America.

SIC EST VITA BIBLIOGRAPHICI!

(Copy.)

BOSTON, JULY 7, 1848.

Gentlemen,—I beg leave to offer for your consideration the enclosed plan of a BIBLIOGRAPHIA AMERICANA, and to solicit for the enterprise the patronage and encouragement of the Smithsonian Institution.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient and humble Servant,
(Signed,) HENRY STEVENS.

Prof. JOSEPH HENRY, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
Prof. CHARLES C. JEWETT, Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution.

(Copy.)

We highly approve of the foregoing plan of the BIBLIOGRAPHIA AMERICANA, submitted to us by Henry Stevens, Esq. accompanying his note of July 7, 1848, and certify that the work will be accepted for publication in the SMITHSONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE, provided the execution is found satisfactory to a commission of competent judges, appointed by the Institution for its examination.

(Signed,) JOSEPH HENRY.
CHARLES C. JEWETT.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, July 17, 1848.

Address, Henry Stevens,
Care of N. D. Hubbard, Esq., No. 4 Court Street, Boston,
or care of Thomas Watts, Esq., British Museum, London.

PROSPECTUS.

BIBLIOGRAPHIA AMERICANA:

A Bibliographical Account of the Sources of Early American History; comprising a description of books relating to America, printed prior to the year 1700, and of all books printed in America from 1543 to 1700, together with notices of many of the more important unpublished manuscripts.

Prepared by Henry Stevens,

and published under the direction of

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AT WASHINGTON.

PLAN OF THE WORK.

1. It will contain a descriptive list of all books relating to America, and of all books printed in America, prior to the year 1700, which may be found in the principal public and private libraries of Europe and America, or which are described in other works; together with notices of many of the more important unpublished manuscripts.

2. The descriptions will be made, as far as possible, from an examination of the books themselves. If any be taken from other sources of information they will be distinguished by some peculiar mark.

3. The titles, including the imprint or colophon, will in all cases be given in full, word for word, and letter for letter.

4. The *collation* of each book will be given; that is, such a description as will indicate a perfect copy.

5. The market value of the books, with the prices at which they have been sold at public sales, will, whenever possible, be given.

6. Different editions and various translations of the principal works will be diligently compared with each other, and their variations and relative merits pointed out, especially of such works as the Collections of Voyages and Travels by DeBry, Hulsius, Ramusius, Hakluyt, Purchas, Thevenot, etc.; the corresponding parts of which will be compared, not only with each other, but with the editions of the works from which they were translated, abridged, or reprinted.

7. Bibliographical Notes will be appended when deemed necessary, containing abstracts of the contents of the works when the titles fail to give a proper idea of them; anecdotes of authors, printers, engravers, etc.; important items of historical and geographical information; notices of peculiarities of copies, as large paper, vellum, cancelled leaves, etc.; the number of copies printed; together with the comparative rarity and intrinsic value of the works.

8. The notes upon the books printed in America will comprise a full history of the origin and progress of printing in North and South America, from the year 1543 to 1700.

9. Under the title of every work will be designated one or more libraries in which it may be found.

10. The titles will be arranged alphabetically, under the names of the authors, or the leading word of the title.

11. The work will contain a full Introductory Memoir upon the materials of early American History, together with an account of the principal collections of them which have been made in Europe and America.

12. Three Indexes to the contents of the work will be given, viz. (1) A chronological index, in which the titles will be arranged according to the years in which the works were printed; (2) An index of the subjects treated in the books; (3) An alphabetical index of the persons and subjects mentioned in the Notes and Introductory Memoir.

PREPARATION OF THE WORK FOR THE PRESS.

1. The expense of preparing the work for the press will be defrayed by subscription.

2. It is estimated that the work will contain not less than five thousand titles, which are to be obtained from the public and private libraries of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Italy, America, etc. It is obvious that if any single individual possessed the requisite knowledge of languages and bibliography for this task, it would require of him several years of unremitting toil. In order, therefore, to accomplish the labor within a reasonable period, it will be necessary to employ upon it several persons. These should be learned and responsible men. Such men cannot be employed unless their services be well requited. Besides this, the whole work must be superintended and revised by Mr. Stevens himself; who, for this purpose, will be subjected to heavy travelling and other expenses. It is estimated that the necessary expenses attending the preparation of the work for the press, to say nothing of Mr. Stevens's own time and services, will amount to $5000 (or £1000). The work will not therefore be commenced until this sum is subscribed.

3. Any public institution or any individual possessing books of this class may join in the subscription on the following conditions, viz.

(1) That all the books of this class, belonging to each subscriber be submitted to the inspection of Mr. Stevens, and all reasonable facilities and assistance be afforded him in his work.

(2) That the name of each subscriber be indicated under the title of every book which he contributes, so that when the work is completed, it will show not only the treasures, but also the deficiencies in this department of the library of each subscriber, and enable him by marginal marks against the titles of books which he may subsequently procure, to preserve a perpetual record of his collection and of its deficiencies.

(3) That each subscriber be entitled to contribute not only the title of every book of this class which he may possess at the time of subscribing, but also of all other books of this class, which he may procure for his own library previously to January, 1850, or before the work shall go to the press.

(4) That the sum subscribed by each be in proportion to the number of titles contributed, or be such as Mr. Stevens may accept.

(5) That this sum be paid to Mr. Stevens on the acceptance of the manuscript for publication by the Smithsonian Institution.

(6) That each subscriber be entitled to receive from the Smithsonian Institution, ten copies of the work, for every $500 (or £100) subscribed, and in the same proportion for a larger or smaller subscription.

4. Inasmuch as the library of the British Museum contains a larger number of this class of books than any other library in the world, and at the same time affords extraordinary facilities for bibliographical research, it is proposed to commence the work there. All the titles which this library can furnish will be written out upon cards, made for the purpose, measuring about eight inches by six. When these have been carefully revised and copied, they will, if it be desired, be sent in small parcels to each of the subscribers for their inspection and remarks. When the work is completed, so far as the library of the British Museum can furnish the materials, Mr. Stevens will himself visit each of the other libraries for which he shall have received subscriptions, comparing and revising the titles, and adding such other books as he may find, which had not been previously described.

5. It is hoped that sufficient force can be advantageously employed upon the work, to prepare it for the press in eighteen months.

PUBLICATION OF THE WORK

When the manuscript of the work shall have been completed, according to the plan detailed above, it is to be delivered to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, who will in accordance with the Rules of the Institution as published in the *Programme of Organization*, of Dec. 8, 1847, submit it to a commission of competent judges. If this commission report favorably as to the faithful execution of the work, it is to be published and distributed at the sole expense of the Smithsonian Institution, constituting one or more volumes of the quarto series of SMITHSONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE, similar in form and style of execution to the first volume, about to be published. It will be uniform with the quarto edition of the UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

EARLY PRINTING IN WYOMING*

By Douglas C. McMurtrie

UNTIL recently, Wyoming enjoyed the distinction of playing "end man" in the chronological sequence of states to receive the benefits of the printing press, with Massachusetts occupying the opposite extremity of the row. The year 1867 was regarded by all local historians as that in which the first press was established in Wyoming, the exact date being fixed at Thursday, September 19, 1867, the day on which the initial issue of the *Cheyenne Leader* came off the press.

But just about ten years ago, while I was working on an article on Wyoming's printing history, I was fortunate in discovering the existence of a copy of the third issue of a diminutive daily newspaper printed in 1863 in what is now Wyoming. This was the *Daily Telegraph*, printed and published at Fort Bridger, U. T. (indicating that the region was then in Utah Territory) on June 26, 1863, by H. Brundage. This established late June of that year as the date of the earliest known printing in Wyoming, shifting that state into the next to the last position in the sequence already mentioned and leaving North Dakota, with an initial printing date of 1864, at the end of the line.

The existence of an issue of the *Daily Telegraph* was first reported in the January, 1933, issue of the *Annals of Wyoming*. As so often and fortunately happens, this report brought out additional information. It put me in touch with a private collector who

* This paper, as presented at the Society's meeting held in Chicago, December 30, 1941, included a section relating to early printing and newspaper publishing in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

had in his possession a copy of the 24th issue of the *Daily Telegraph*, dated from Fort Bridger, U. T., on July 26, 1863.

Hiram Brundage, printer and publisher of the little *Daily Telegraph*, was the telegraph operator at Fort Bridger. He had previously been joint proprietor, with Seth B. Mobley, of the *Herald*, published at Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory, where Brundage likewise served as telegraph operator. Some years later we find him as editor and proprietor of the *Messenger*, at Sheridan, Montana Territory, in 1879, and as the publisher of the *Dillon Tribune* at Dillon, Montana, in 1881.

So far as is now known, no printing was done in Wyoming between 1863 and 1867.[1] Towards the end of the latter year, the railhead of the Union Pacific Railway was being pushed through the southern part of what is now Wyoming. When the railroad reached Cheyenne, it found a little city of 4,000 inhabitants, with organized municipal government and two local newspapers, ready and waiting for it. Cheyenne, in fact, had been built to order, in expectation of the coming of the rails.

Foreseeing the prosperity which the railroad would bring to Cheyenne, Nathan A. Baker moved there from Denver with printing equipment and on September 19, 1867, published the first issue of the *Cheyenne Leader*.[2] Because a file of this paper has been preserved, and also because the *Leader* has enjoyed a long and successful career lasting down to the present day, the record of this newspaper is relatively well known.

Before the end of 1867, two other newspapers, the *Argus* and the *Rocky Mountain Star*, began publication in the new frontier city, and a third, the *Frontier Index*, which moved from place to place with the progress of construction of the railroad, was also

[1] Reservation is to be made here for the inclusion, as a Wyoming imprint, of the 33-page *Dictionary of the Sioux Language*, by J. K. Hyer and W. S. Starring, which is dated "Fort Laramie, Dakota; December, 1866." See below, pp. 299-300.

[2] Although not explicitly named in the *Leader* as a member of its publishing staff, James E. Gates, later one of the owners and editors of the *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, labored with Baker in the establishment of the *Leader*. Gates refers to this association in an article in the *Sentinel* of March 30, 1872.

issued at Cheyenne for a time in 1867. The *Argus* and the *Star* proved to be relatively short-lived, and little has been known of them. No Wyoming historian has recorded accurately the dates of their establishment or suspension or has told us any details of their careers. Nor was there available any satisfactory published record of other early Wyoming papers.

Irked by the unsatisfactory state of information about early Wyoming printing and publishing, I began a search for more specific evidence of the careers of the early newspapers. No new facts were uncovered, however, until it became possible, on returning from the Pacific Coast about five years ago, to stop off for several days in Cheyenne. There I had opportunity to examine in some detail the files of the *Cheyenne Leader* and other newspapers in the collections of the Wyoming Historical Society, housed in the fine new building of the Wyoming State Library. These files yielded, as I had expected they would, not only details about the newspapers the files of which I examined, but also much indispensable information about other Wyoming newspaper enterprises of which the record is otherwise most scanty, if not altogether lacking.

The Cheyenne Leader

From the file of Cheyenne's pioneer newspaper in the Wyoming Historical Society, we learn that the first issue of the *Leader* was printed in the face of various mechanical difficulties. In it the publisher announces that

> our next issue will be delayed until Tuesday morning, by which time we hope to have the mechanical part of our paper in condition to assure its regular appearance thereafter.

The masthead of this first issue proclaims it as "The Cheyenne Leader, Cheyenne, D. T. [Dakota Territory], Thursday, Sept. 19, 1867. Vol. 1, No. 1. N. A. Baker, Editor and Proprietor. Office on east side of Eddy Street, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets. Tri-weekly edition $12.00 per year." On the first

and second pages the date of issue is specified as September 19, while on page 4 it is noted as Wednesday, September 18.

The date on which the equipment for the *Leader* reached Cheyenne was recorded a year later in the issue of September 16, 1868, as follows:

> One year ago today, September 16th, the *Leader* printing office, the first printing establishment in what is now Wyoming, arrived at Cheyenne and the first issue of this paper issued three days thereafter.

As we now know, of course, the equipment on which the little *Daily Telegraph* was printed at Fort Bridger had preceded the *Leader* plant into Wyoming by over four years.

The file shows that D. W. Scott became associate editor of the *Leader* with the issue of October 24, 1867, but beginning with the issue of December 3 his name no longer appears. With the issue of December 21, 1867, which was vol. 1, no. 80, the *Leader* was enlarged from four to six columns and became a daily. In the issue of December 28, A. T. Drake was named as the authorized agent of the *Leader* to receive subscriptions and advertising, but beginning with the issue of October 24, 1868, his name no longer appears as the *Leader's* business agent.

In the issue of June 19, 1868, we read that the *Leader* building was "on wheels," being moved to a new location, a lot on the west side of Ferguson Street, between 15th and 16th streets. By July 24th the paper was settled in its "new and permanent location." The issue of July 23rd was dated at "Cheyenne, D. T." while that of July 24th was published at "Cheyenne, Wyoming." The change signalized the passage of the Act of Congress creating Wyoming Territory. But even as late as its issue of September 7th the *Leader* had to explain that "Wyoming" was still Dakota until the territorial officers should be appointed and confirmed.

With the issue of August 26, 1868, George A. Wardman became associate editor of the *Leader*. He had served the Cheyenne *Argus* during its early days in a like capacity.

On November 30, 1868, the *Leader* noted the plans of the *Argus* to publish a weekly edition. On December 4th announcement was made of the *Wyoming Weekly Leader*, to be issued as soon as material for use in its publication should arrive. This material, the *Leader* reported, was held up in accumulated freight at the Missouri River. The terms for the weekly *Leader* were $5 a year, or $3 for six months. The appearance of the first number of the weekly was reported in the daily issue of the *Leader* on January 1, 1869.

On May 10, 1869, the *Leader* reported the ceremonies, at Promontory, Utah, attending the driving of the last spike in the transcontinental railway. N. A. Baker, of the *Leader*, and Dr. L. L. Bedell, editor of the *Argus*, were present at this momentous event. And the *Leader* of November 19th informs us that a ticket for the eleven-day journey from New York to San Francisco could be had for the sum of $284.

On May 13, 1869, George Wardman retired as associate editor of the *Leader* and was succeeded by M. E. Ward, "late of the Omaha *Republican*." We are told later, on June 1st, that Wardman engaged in the hardware business in South Pass City. But Morris E. Ward held the position for only a few weeks; the *Leader* of June 10th contained his valedictory.[3] The title of associate editor followed the name of W. (for Warren) Richardson in the *Leader* of October 4, 1869.

Disaster befell the *Leader* at the beginning of 1870. Its office and all its printing equipment were destroyed by a fire which consumed two blocks in the heart of Cheyenne's business district, according to a report in the issue of January 11th. The loss was $10,000, with no insurance. Nathan Baker immediately purchased a new building and went east to procure new equipment. Until this arrived, the *Leader* appeared on a half-sheet, printed

[3] On June 30, 1869, Morris E. Ward became part owner of Georgetown *Colorado Miner*, in partnership with A. W. Barnard. This connection ended just a year later.

in the idle plant of the *Cheyenne Argus*, which had suspended publication about two months before. By February 10th the newspaper was established in its new office and returned to full-sheet size.

Towards the end of its third volume, in September, 1870, the *Leader* was again reduced to half-sheet size because of inability to get printers. In its issue of September 6th the paper reported the outcome of a recent election, from which we can get some idea of the community in which it was published. The population of Wyoming Territory at that time was 9,128, and the total vote was 3,200. The population of Cheyenne was then 776, of whom 171 were women. And the first woman to cast a ballot in Cheyenne was recorded as a Mrs. Howe, wife of the United States marshal.

The Migratory Frontier Index

The second press to come to Cheyenne was that of the *Frontier Index*. This journalistic bird of passage grew out of the *Herald*, published at Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory, the paper with which Hiram Brundage, publisher in 1863 of the Fort Bridger *Daily Telegraph*, was once associated. The *Herald* was bought by Leigh Richmond Freeman and his brother, Fred K. Freeman, who started the *Frontier Index* in its place. When the construction of the Union Pacific reached western Nebraska, the publishers of the *Index* decided to move westward with the railroad. Thus the place of publication of this paper changed from place to place as the railroad construction moved onward.

No copies have been recorded of any issues of the *Frontier Index* with a Cheyenne date line. But it is known to have reached that point early in October, 1867 — a month and more before the track-end headquarters of the railroad arrived there, and only about two weeks after the first issue of the *Cheyenne Leader* had appeared. Its last previous stop had been at Julesburg, now in Colorado, and the *Daily Denver Gazette* of October 2, 1867,

quoted the Julesburg *Index* as announcing: "The *Frontier Index* rolls on to Cheyenne to-morrow. Our exchanges will please address the *Index* at Cheyenne, Dakota Territory."

On November 2, 1867, the *Cheyenne Leader* reported: "Mr. L. R. Freeman, of the *Frontier Index*, is in town, on his way to Fort Sanders. He leaves, with his press, in a few days." Our next record of the *Index* is in the *Leader* of December 21, 1867, where we read that the migratory paper has "resumed publication at Fort Sanders, forty miles west of Cheyenne." And the *Daily Denver Gazette* of December 31, 1867, quoted the *Index* of December 24th as saying: "Our exchanges will please address the Index at Fort Sanders. Remember, we are on wheels — fifty miles west of Cheyenne." After Fort Sanders, the *Index* later appeared at three other points in Wyoming, and each of its appearances was important in the early printing history of that state.

Record of the Argus

The *Argus* was the name of a newspaper which was published at Cheyenne for about two and a half years, but copies of only two issues of it are known to have survived.[4] Its history, therefore, cannot be known from its own columns, but only from mention of it in other newspapers. Up to this time, only the vaguest kind of statements about the *Argus* were to be found. But now it is possible, through search of the files of other newspapers, to present a fairly definite outline of its career.

We first pick up the trail of the *Argus* in the second issue of the *Cheyenne Leader*, dated September 24, 1867, in which it is stated:

> We were pleased to meet, on Sunday evening, Dr. Bedell, formerly of Central City, Colorado,[5] who comes to connect himself with the *Argus*, a new paper, advertised to commence publication here in a short time.

[4] September 8, 1868, reported as in the University of North Carolina Library, and November 12, 1869 (vol. 3, no. 9), in the Wyoming Historical Department.

[5] Bedell's prior connection, if any, with newspaper publication at Central City, or elsewhere, has not yet been ascertained.

In a later issue (January 24, 1868) the *Leader* more specifically identifies "Dr. Bedell" as "L. L. Bedell, editor of the *Argus*."

In the *Leader* of Saturday, October 26, 1867, the new paper is thus greeted:

> A newspaper, called the *Cheyenne Argus*, made its first appearance Thursday evening. Success to the *Argus*; we welcome you to the field of busy battle.

And battle it proved to be, in spite of the courtesy of this welcome. This notice is important in that it fixes the exact date — Thursday, October 24, 1867 — of the first issue of the *Argus*.

In the *Leader* of March 5, 1868, is quoted a note from the *Argus* of the same date to the effect that "the name of George Barnett[6] has been substituted for that of George W. Wardman, associate editor," explaining that Mr. Wardman had been identified with the *Argus* since its first issue. As we have seen, Wardman became associate editor of the *Leader* in August, 1868. Barnett's connection with the *Argus* was brief; in April, 1868, we shall find him as one of the founders of the *Commercial Record* at Cheyenne.

The *Argus* seems to have had trouble in retaining associate editors. From the *Leader* of August 12, 1868, we learn that W. P. Finlay, "late associate editor of the Argus" (and possibly Barnett's successor), has gone to Denver.

According to an item in the *Leader* of June 4, 1868, Samuel McBride, one of the founders of the *Colorado Chieftain* at Pueblo, was "formerly foreman of the *Argus* in this city."

On November 30, 1868, the *Leader* reprinted from the Denver *News* an item reading as follows:

> The Cheyenne *Argus* announces that it is about to publish a weekly edition under the editorial charge of Julius Silversmith, Esq., late of the Denver *Democrat*, and Henry Garbanati,[7] Esq., now of the *Argus*. To be a sort of Democratic extension.

[6] Barnett was on the editorial staff of the *Daily Denver Gazette* in 1866 and was editor of the Central City *Colorado Times* from September, 1867, to January, 1868.

[7] Garbanati, like Silversmith and Barnett (and also Baker, of the *Leader*), came to Cheyenne from Colorado, where he had been one of the editors of the *Colorado*

This announcement, as we have seen, resulted in the establishment of a weekly edition of the *Leader* on January 1, 1869.

The date of the beginning of the weekly edition of the *Argus* is found in the *Leader* of January 6, 1869:

> The first issue of the *Cheyenne Weekly Argus* was issued this morning. It is a handsome sheet, creditable to Cheyenne and deserving of success. [This note in the *Leader* continues:] With the daily and weekly *Leader* (Republican), the daily and weekly *Argus* (Democratic), and the *Star* (neuter), Cheyenne is pretty liberally supplied with newspapers.

Since the population of Cheyenne shrank considerably with the moving westward of the Union Pacific railhead, "liberally supplied" is a rather mild estimate of the abundance of newspapers in that town.

The *Leader* of June 5, 1869, lists as Wyoming publishers Messrs. Garbanati, Bedell, and Silversmith of the *Argus*, Williams of the *Star*, Hayford of the Laramie *Sentinel*, and N. A. Baker of the *Leader*.

That all was not going well in the *Argus* organization is indicated by a notice given by Julius Silversmith that L. L. Bedell is "no longer authorized to collect bills" due to the *Argus*, recorded in the *Leader* of June 19, 1869. But in the *Leader* of the following July 16th we learn that Bedell is still with the *Argus*, and the *Leader* of July 16th apparently indicates that Julius Silversmith is no longer with that paper, since he is reported as publishing the *Northwestern Journal of Commerce* at Cheyenne. And in its issue of July 26th the *Leader* tells us that H. Garbanati, "for a long time past editor of the *Argus*," severed his connection with that paper on the preceding Saturday (July 24th), to engage in the practice of law.

The *Leader* of July 31, 1869, reports that no *Argus* has appeared for two days, but another item in the same issue tells us that it "has been heard from again." The *Argus* continued publi-

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Times (begun at Black Hawk in December, 1866, and removed to Central City in April, 1867) until September, 1867.

cation, but its strength was failing, for the *Leader* announced on September 22nd that "the *Argus* wants to sell out."

A. T. Drake, who had been business manager of the *Leader* from December 28, 1867, to October 24, 1868, undertook the management of the *Argus* according to the *Leader* of October 6, 1869. But on November 6th the *Leader* says:

> The Doctor [Bedell] wound up the *Argus* so softly and gently that the people hardly knew when the breath of life left it. But we hope the Democracy will resuscitate the *Argus*.

This kindly hope was realized. "As a matter of news," said the *Leader* of November 10th, "we state for the benefit of whom it may interest that the sleeping *Argus* may awake tomorrow under new management." And on Friday, November 12th, the *Argus* reappeared, edited by W. J. Stanton, with Warren Richardson as associate editor, and still under the ownership of L. L. Bedell. In its issue of that date (one of the two issues of the paper that have survived) the *Argus* reported that it had "just received an entirely new and complete stock of type, material and presses from Johnson & Co.'s celebrated foundry" for the equipment of a job printing plant.

The file of the *Leader* discloses no more references to the *Argus* for six months following its reappearance in November, 1869. But in the Georgetown *Colorado Miner* of November 25, 1869, we may read that "the Cheyenne *Argus* has again suspended." Whether that was finally the end of it, we do not know, but no record of a second revival has been found. We have already seen, however, that the *Argus* establishment was used for printing the *Cheyenne Leader* for a few weeks after the destruction of the *Leader* plant by fire in January, 1870.

None too sadly, I imagine, the *Leader* in its issue of May 9, 1870, directed attention to "the advertisement of sale of the *Argus* printing office of this city, upon foreclosure of mortgage." On May 30 it was reported that "the old *Argus* material has been purchased by Mr. J. M. Searl of this city, who proposes to start

a party organ under the name of the *True Democrat.*" The auction sale of the *Argus* office took place on "Friday, Dr. Bedell, the former editor, having joined the Big Horn Expedition in the capacity of surgeon," as is recorded in the *Wyoming Tribune* of Saturday, May 21, 1870.

The Daily Rocky Mountain Star

The record of the *Star,* like that of the *Argus,* must be reconstructed almost entirely from what is said of it in the columns of its contemporaries, since only a few scattering issues of this paper are known to have been preserved.[8] We can confidently date its first issue on Sunday, December 8, 1867, from the following notice in the *Cheyenne Leader* of Tuesday, December 10th:

> *The Daily Rocky Mountain Star,* a seven column sheet, made its appearance in Cheyenne on Sunday morning. The *Star* will be Republican in politics. It proposes to "go for" the interests of Cheyenne. That's all right. Go it!

Our first hint of the *Star's* personnel comes from the quotation in the *Leader* of January 21, 1868, of an item in the Fort Sanders, Wyoming, *Frontier Index* in which there is a reference to "O. T. B. Williams of the *Star.*" And an item in the *Leader* of February 12th indicates that Williams was still conducting the *Star,* with Charles V. Arnold, formerly a carrier for the *Leader,* working for him. But the *Leader* of March 20, 1868, reports that Arnold has left the *Star* and has gone to Denver.[9]

According to the *Daily Denver Gazette* of June 13, 1868, "J. H. Hayford, Esq., a gentleman of the legal profession, has taken charge of the local department of the *Star,* at Cheyenne." Hayford, according to the *Gazette,* was "a radical Radical," in favor

[8] The Library of Congress has May 2, 16, and 18, 1869 (vol. 2, nos. 127, 141, and 142) of the daily edition, and of the weekly edition January 13 and 27, May 26, June 2 and 9, 1869 — eight issues in all.

[9] Arnold was associate editor of the *Daily Denver Gazette* from March 19 until June 28, 1868. The *Leader* of November 29, 1870, reported that at that time he was publishing the Norwalk, Conn., *Sentinel* — by which was probably meant the *South Norwalk Sentinel,* which the *Union List of Newspapers* records as beginning on November 17, 1870.

of the impeachment of President Johnson "whether Johnson had done anything to be impeached for or not."

The *Cheyenne Leader* of June 30, 1868, said that the *Rocky Mountain Star* would soon close its career, "as that of the *Record*, *Fast Life*, and all such concerns invariably close." In spite of this forecast, however, the *Leader* of the following July 8th reported the first issue of a weekly edition of the *Star* as having appeared on that date.

On April 9, 1869, the *Leader* refers to the *Star* as "only a half sheet now and no publication on this day — probably defunct." It was not quite defunct, however, as issues of May 26, June 2, and June 9 are found among the few extant survivors of this paper preserved in the Library of Congress. These last three issues carry the name of W. M. Bamberger as business agent. In its issues of April 14 and April 24, 1869, the *Leader* reported the departure for California of "Mr. Webster, late local editor of the *Star*." It seems safe to say that the issue of June 9, 1869, was the *Star's* last glimmer, for a *post mortem* statement in the *Leader* of June 12th reports as follows:

> As a gratification to the curiosity of some as to what was done with the printing office of the defunct *Star*, we will say that it has been purchased by this office, and with some additional equipment will be forwarded to South Pass City, where will be established the first Republican newspaper of that section.

From the remains of the *Star*, therefore, it would appear that the *South Pass News*, to be mentioned later on, was constructed.

The Commercial Record

A weekly newspaper, the name of which has never, to my knowledge, appeared in any chronicle of Wyoming publishing, was the *Commercial Record*. According to the *Cheyenne Leader* of April 6, 1868:

> A new candidate for public favor bearing the title *Commercial Record* has made its appearance. It is little more than half the size of the *Daily Leader*, and

is to be issued weekly. Saltiel and Barnett are the publishers, and we hope they and their paper may flourish like the green bay tree.

Barnett's brief connection with the *Cheyenne Argus* has already been mentioned. The firm of Saltiel & Barnett is also known to us in connection with a local directory, seemingly the first in Wyoming, which was advertised as follows in the *Leader* of January 27, 1868, and succeeding issues:

The History of Cheyenne and Business and General Directory will be issued on or before the 15th of February, 1868. Sent by mail free to any address, on receipt of $1.25. Delivered in the City of Cheyenne, D. T., at $1.00. Saltiel & Barnett, Publishers, corner of Twentieth and O'Neill streets, Cheyenne, Dakota.

The *Leader* of February 14, 1868, in what may be regarded as a friendly "puff," said that the directory was "meeting with good success." Publication of the book was much delayed, however, for it was not until its issue of April 27, 1868, that the *Leader* could say that "the long expected and anxiously looked for Cheyenne Directory, compiled by Messrs. Saltiel and Barnett of this city, has at length arrived."[10] The *Leader* then bestows praise upon the typography of the book and upon "the skill of the printer, St. A. D. Balcombe, of the *Omaha Republican.*" This definite reference to an Omaha printer conclusively shows that the *Directory*, which has been regarded as a rare product of the early Wyoming press, was not printed in Wyoming.

To return to Saltiel & Barnett's *Commercial Record:* this paper was not destined to live long in Cheyenne's already overcrowded publishing field. For in its issue of June 17, 1868, the *Leader* says: "Now that the *Commercial Record* has ended its short and brilliant career, what is to become of the Board of Trade . . . ?"—for which institution the *Record* probably served as official organ. And on June 24th the *Leader* notes that "the highest bidder at Sumner's sale tomorrow may buy the *Commercial Record* printing office, which is to be sold for what it is worth, or less." Finally, in

[10] I have been able to locate only one copy of this directory, in the possession of Mr. William R. Coe, of New York, an outstanding collector of Western Americana.

the *Leader* of August 4, 1868, we read that Emanuel H. Saltiel, "of the defunct Cheyenne *Record* and *Fast Life*," was about to start a Democratic paper in Chicago entitled the *Western Hebrew*.[11]

Fast Life

This, apparently, was the title of another ephemeral Cheyenne newspaper published during the first half of 1868. The statement in the *Cheyenne Leader* of June 30, 1868, to the effect that the *Rocky Mountain Star* would soon close its career, "as that of the *Record*, *Fast Life*, and all such concerns invariably close," is our first intimation of its existence. Emanuel H. Saltiel was identified with its publication, as we have just seen in the quotation from the *Leader* of August 4, 1868, mentioning Saltiel "of the defunct Cheyenne *Record* and *Fast Life*."

This paper was evidently printed in the office of the *Commercial Record* and was closely affiliated with it, perhaps to the extent that it was merely an adjunct or part of the *Record*, and not a wholly independent publication. I am now endeavoring to find some evidence on this point. No copies of any issues of *Fast Life* have as yet been located.

The last we hear of this publication is an item in the *Leader* of August 19, 1868:

> The *Denver Gazette* comes to us in a new dress, and looks better than we ever saw it before. Its new dress is the material of the defunct Cheyenne *Record* and *Fast Life*, and looks well.

[11] F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*, contains no record of a paper entitled *Western Hebrew*; but "a Mr. Saltiel" is mentioned as the purchaser, in 1872, of the East St. Louis *People's Gazette*.

According to Jerome C. Smiley's *History of Denver*, E. H. Saltiel and George Barnett became owners of the *Daily Denver Times* at some unspecified date towards the end of the year 1869. There are no extant issues of this Denver paper later than June, 1869. But Smiley also says that Saltiel and Barnett discontinued publication at Denver about the end of the year and took part of the equipment to Wyoming, "where they again tried their fortune at newspaper publishing." Smiley's statements are hopelessly confused; the Denver enterprise of Saltiel and Barnett must have been after, not before, their Wyoming experience.

Northwestern Journal of Commerce

This paper, published by Julius Silversmith, was announced to appear on July 17, 1869, according to the *Leader* of that date. It may have so appeared, but it did not long survive. No copies of it have been located, and no further mention of it has been found.

Silversmith's former connection with the *Argus* at Cheyenne and his earlier connection with Colorado journalism have already been mentioned. In 1869 he was the author of a work entitled *The New Northwest*, a lecture on the character and resources of Wyoming Territory, a copy of which is acknowledged by the *Leader* in its issue of May 1, 1869.[12] The *Leader* evidently was not impressed by Silversmith; it was careful to refer to him as "Julius Silversmith, M.A.," or as "the distinguished author, Professor Julius Silversmith," in what seems to be ironic tribute to his scholarship. On January 22, 1870, it published a quotation from the Denver *Rocky Mountain News:* "Julius Silversmith, M.A., is going to start a Democratic paper at Fremont, Nebr. The people of Fremont have our sympathy." And in its issue of May 4, 1870, the *Leader* takes leave of him with the unkind report that "the Council Bluff *Times*, started by Julius Silversmith, M. A., now denounces that individual as a 'dead beat.' "

In its issue of March 14, 1872, the *Cheyennne Leader* reports that "Julius Silversmith, M.A., prepares plans and specifications for patent for a machine which will make type from copper, or any of the ductile sheet or bar metals. . . ."

The Wyoming Tribune

The first issue of this paper was dated at Cheyenne, November 20, 1869. It was owned by Edward M. Lee, Wyoming's first territorial secretary, and was published for Lee by S. Allan Bris-

[12] *The New Northwest* was published in pamphlet form by L. B. Joseph, of Cheyenne, but it was not printed in Wyoming. The only copy of this pamphlet of which I have record at present is in the collection of Mr. William R. Coe.

tol (Lee's brother-in-law) and H. A. Pierce. The *Cheyenne Leader*, in its issue of November 23, 1869, announced its appearance in untempered language:

> A new squirt. After much labor, that official of mountainous rottenness, "Slang" Lee, has brought forth a mouse. . . . The *Wyoming Tribune* is out.

According to the *Leader*, Lee was sent to Wyoming as territorial secretary because there was no other way for the national administration to get rid of him. The *Leader* treated its other contemporaries and competitors at least with tolerance, but between the *Leader* and the *Wyoming Tribune* there was bitter hostility right from the start. The older paper pointedly ignored the existence of the *Tribune*, which was mentioned only once in the *Leader's* columns until on August 14, 1871, the collapse of the *Tribune* was announced.

The *Leader*, however, reported on February 3, 1870, a petition from six hundred Wyoming women voters for the removal of Secretary Lee from office because of misconduct, and on February 19th announced that Lee had been removed by President Grant and commented that "Doubtless the organ over the P. O. can now be purchased on moderate terms."

From the *Wyoming Tribune* of September 10, 1870, we learn that H. A. Pierce severed his connection with the paper on that date, and its issue of February 4, 1871, announced that E. M. Lee had sold the paper to Messrs. Church and Bristol, both of whom, said Lee in a valedictory note, "have been connected with the paper in an editorial capacity since its initial number."

In its issue of August 14, 1871, the *Leader* declared that

> The *Tribune* office in this city has collapsed. We pity Messrs. Church and Bristol, for they are both worthy, industrious men, but an old debt incurred by its former proprietor was more than they could manage.

In the same issue the *Leader* took occasion to reflect:

> Cheyenne requires one good newspaper. How well it can support more is attested

by the stubborn fact that nine newspapers of various kinds have gone where the woodbine twineth in the four years that Cheyenne has been a town.[13]

A few days after hailing the collapse of the *Tribune*, the *Leader* reported on August 18th:

The printing press and traps of the late *Tribune* have been bought by a member of Congress, resident of the Hoosier State. This fellow is the pet aversion of all decent Cheyenne folks, who are always slow to appreciate the peculiar line of greatness in which he excels.

This outburst possibly expressed the disappointment of the *Leader* at finding that the *Tribune* had been acquired by George W. Corey, who continued its publication, beginning August 19th, without missing a single issue in its serial numbering.

Only three days after reporting the sale of the *Tribune's* "printing press and traps," the *Leader* in its issue of August 21st notes with very evident distaste that: "E. M. Lee is writing for the *Tribune*. Saturday's sheet [August 19th] is reeking with his fulminations." After that, the *Leader* ignored its adversary completely. We find occasional mention of the *Wyoming Tribune*, however, in issues of Laramie newspapers.

The latest extant issue of the *Wyoming Tribune* is that of November 2, 1872, in the Library of Congress file. The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of November 14, 1872, mentioned that Dr. Corey was still editor of the *Tribune*. But the *Laramie Daily Independent* of December 28th closed the record with an item on the *Tribune's* death.[14]

[13] This statement affords opportunity of checking the adequacy of the present record. Besides the *Leader*, which endured, I here present fragmentary records of nine Cheyenne papers which had suspended by August, 1871: (1) *Argus*; (2) *Rocky Mountain Star*; (3) *Commercial Record*; (4) *Fast Life*; (5) *Northwestern Journal of Commerce*; (6) *Wyoming Tribune*; (7) *Wyoming Railroad Advocate*; (8) *Wyoming News*; (9) *Cheyenne Daily Sun*. It must be noted, however, that included in the *Leader's* nine casualties was the *Wyoming Tribune*, which had not actually come to an end, though the *Leader* may have hoped that it had.

[14] Much later, the *Cheyenne Leader* of April 8, 1873, reported: "The furniture and printing material of the Wyoming Tribune establishment, having been purchased by Mr. McClelland of Ft. Collins, the outfit was yesterday removed to that place, where Mr. McClelland intends to start a weekly newspaper." The *Larimer County Express* was begun at Fort Collins by J. S. McClelland on April 25, 1873.

Wyoming Railroad Advocate

This was apparently the name of the new paper established by J. M. Searl, who bought the printing equipment of the *Argus* upon its demise and at first announced that his paper would be entitled the *True Democrat*. We learn from the *Wyoming Tribune* of June 11, 1870, that it had received a copy of the first issue of the *Wyoming Railroad Advocate*, "a neat 7-column sheet published in this city by J. M. Searl & Co.—Democratic, and devoted to the Territorial Railroad interests, also mining and general development." The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of June 15, 1870, also acknowledged the first issue of the *Advocate*, but did not like the presence in Laramie of a canvasser for this Cheyenne paper which, according to the *Sentinel*, was

> merely gotten up and published to advocate the "Cheap John" establishment of Mr. Searle [*sic*]. [To the Laramie daily it was] a sell that our citizens should pay Mr. Searle for publishing his own advertisements, more especially as they might have had the paper for nothing, as we learn it is the intention to send it gratis all over the country.

The *Advocate* did not long endure. A mention of "the editor of the Democratic *Advocate*" in the *Cheyenne Leader* of August 24, 1870, is the last reference to it that has been found. No copies of its issues are known to have been preserved.

The Wyoming News

The only issue of this paper of which a copy has survived was its final issue, so the outline of its career must be drawn from what its contemporaries have said about it. The earliest mention of it that I have seen is in the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of September 1, 1870:

> There is a paper called the *News* published at Cheyenne. It is, we believe, a branch of the Colorado *News*.[15] At least it has the same object in view, the election of a Colorado politician to represent Wyoming in Congress.

[15] The reference is probably to the *Rocky Mountain News*, of Denver.

The "Colorado politician" was named John Wanless; in Cheyenne, the *Wyoming Tribune* of September 3, 1870, gave him chilly recognition:

Mr. John Wanless has recently purchased and assumed control of the *Wyoming News*. Mr. Wanless is without editorial or congressional experience, but assumes the former in the hope of enjoying the latter.

We have here an indication that the *News* was in existence before the first of September, when Wanless purchased it, but there is no clue to the exact date of its beginning.

It was some weeks before the *Cheyenne Leader* mentioned the newcomer. In the *Leader* of September 24th we read:

The *Wyoming Weekly News* has been laid on our table by courtesy of its new manager, Mr. Warren Richardson. . . . To its owner, John Wanless, we wish he would sell the paper to some resident of this Territory, and go back to his Colorado ranch.

Two days later the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of September 26th remarked:

The *Wyoming News* comes to us reduced in size and containing the introductory of our old friend Richardson, . . . We wish him better luck than the cause he supports.

The *Wyoming News* obviously was unpopular with its Wyoming contemporaries. Aside from the fact that it was Democratic in a Republican region, its unpopularity was chiefly due to the fact that John Wanless, its owner, represented a political element in Colorado which advocated the annexation of southern Wyoming to Colorado, thus giving the latter territory the qualifications for statehood.

H. A. Pierce, one of the founders of the *Wyoming Tribune*, shortly became owner of the *News*. The *Leader* of October 15, 1870, reports:

H. A. Pierce, Esq., has purchased the old *News* printing office, formerly the *Argus* office of this city. He will use it in the establishment of a newspaper in Salt Lake City. A press and type are to be left here for the publication of the *News* until January first in order to fill existing contracts.

The *Argus* equipment, it will be remembered, was sold in May, 1870, to J. M. Searl, who used it from June to August, 1870, for his *Wyoming Railroad Advocate*. In a sense, then, the *News* was the physical successor of the *Advocate*.

That Searl was in some way identified with the *News* appears from a remark in the *Leader* of November 10, 1870, to the effect that

> The newspaper press of Cheyenne has been cursed by a number of hard cases; J. M. Searl of the *Railroad Advocate* and *Wyoming News* is at this time obtaining a divorce from his wife, offering false evidence.

Begun as a weekly, the *Wyoming News* became a daily early in 1871. The *Leader* of January 23, 1871, gave warning of the impending change:

> The *Wyoming News* is to become a daily . . . simply a resurrection of the old worn-out *Argus* office . . . Democratic while it pays.

And the *Wyoming Tribune* of February 4, 1871, records the date of beginning of the daily *News:*

> The *Wyoming Daily News* made its first appearance this morning, published by the News Company, Warren Richardson, editor, 28 columns, devoted to the cause of the people against political usurpation.

The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of February 7th also notes the appearance of the daily *News* and scathingly denounces its policies.

The issue of Sunday, April 30, 1871, Vol. 1, No. 74, H. A. Pierce, publisher, W. Richardson, editor (the only issue of which an extant copy is recorded), was the last of the *Wyoming Daily Morning News*. The *Leader* of May 1st reported, with no trace of regret, that the "Great Territorial Democratic Organ breathed its last yesterday morning." And on May 4th the *Leader* quoted from the Laramie *Sentinel* the following requiem:

> Leaf by leaf the roses fall,
> Dime by dime the purse runs dry;
> One by one, beyond recall,
> Mushroom papers droop and die.

The same issue of the *Leader* also reported that H. A. Pierce, "publisher and proprietor, and of course the controlling editorial head, of the *Wyoming News*," was assaulted for libelous remarks about Cheyenne citizens in the final issue of his paper.

And finally we read in the *Leader* of June 2, 1871, that "The material of the *Wyoming News* is to be sold on Saturday next to satisfy employees' claims."

Cheyenne Daily Sun

The last newspaper to make a beginning in Cheyenne before 1871 was the *Cheyenne Daily Sun*. No issues have survived, so far as is known to me, and references to it in other newspapers of Wyoming enable us barely to glimpse its rising and setting. In the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of October 12, 1870, we read:

> Cheyenne now gives birth to a *Daily Sun*. W. M. Bamberg [an error, I believe, for Bamberger] & Co. officiate as accoucheurs. Cheyenne has borne and suckled newspapers until her constitution is all gone.

And an obscure item in the *Cheyenne Leader* of October 13th may also be a slighting reference to the *Sun;* it reads: "A small sheet made its appearance this morning under the auspices of Wunhoo Nose How"—with no clue to the identity of the "one who knows how."

Aside from these allusions and a mention of the *Sun* in the *Wyoming Tribune* of October 15, 1870, we are able at present to record no more of the *Cheyenne Daily Sun* until February 4, 1871, on which date the *Wyoming Tribune* referred to the *Sun* as "obsolete."

In the three years between September, 1867, and October, 1870, ten newspapers (not counting the migratory *Frontier Index*) made their appearance in Cheyenne. The journalistic field there was most crowded in the three months of April, May and June, 1868, when the *Leader*, the *Argus*, the *Star*, the *Commercial Record*, and *Fast Life* all were current. At the end of 1870, Cheyenne had

the *Leader*, the *Wyoming Tribune*, the *Wyoming News*, and possibly the *Sun*.

Printing in Wyoming Outside of Cheyenne

So much for newspaper printing and publishing in Cheyenne before 1871. What, now, were the developments at other points in the present state of Wyoming?

Fort Sanders

Fort Bridger is now identified as the site of the first press known to have been operated in what is now Wyoming, and Cheyenne was the second. The third point at which printing was done in Wyoming was known at the time as Fort Sanders. This point, hardly to be found on many modern maps, was four or five miles south of the present city of Laramie and was the seat of operations of the transitory *Frontier Index* for three or four months in 1867-1868.

There are no extant issues of the *Index* to tell us just when it moved from Cheyenne to Fort Sanders. The earliest record of the change which has been found is in the *Cheyenne Leader* of December 21, 1867, in which we read that the *Index* "has again resumed publication at Fort Sanders, forty miles west of Cheyenne." Other allusions to the *Index* in the *Leader* during January and February of 1868 still identify it with Fort Sanders.

On January 27, 1868, the *Leader* reported that the *Index* was planning to open a branch printing office at the Sweetwater Mines, but with the "stem" remaining in Fort Sanders. As will be noted later, the mining camps on the Sweetwater at that time formed a community much more populous even than Cheyenne.

Fort Sanders has a place in printing history only because the *Frontier Index* tarried there for a few months. An army post established in 1866, and at first named Fort John Buford, it was reduced in importance in 1874 and was finally abandoned in 1882.

Laramie

The *Cheyenne Leader* of March 17, 1868, contains a reference to the *Frontier Index* which indicates that the *Index* at that time was being issued at Laramie.[16] That town thus became the fourth point at which a press was set up in Wyoming.

The change of location of the *Index* from Fort Sanders to Laramie involved a move of only a few miles, from the army post to the site of a new town which sprang up to await the coming of the railroad. Not very long after the *Index* arrived there, the *Leader* reported, in its issue of May 5, 1868: "The first train of railway cars reached Laramie City yesterday morning. . . . The Index-on-wheels will soon be seeking a cave on Elk Mountain." With the passing on of the construction crews, Laramie shrank somewhat in importance. The *Leader* of June 30th said "All that remains of Laramie is a cast-off undershirt, an empty bottle, and the *Frontier Index.*"

But the *Index* clung to Laramie a few weeks longer, though it seems to have shrunk with the town. The *Leader* of July 18, 1868, says "The intermittent *Index* is reduced to three columns in size, and is now on a wheelbarrow bound for Salt Creek, via Green River." The bulk of the *Index* plant was already on its way westward. But enough remained at Laramie for a little four-page issue, 7½ x 11¾ inches in size, dated at Laramie on July 21, 1868, and containing a statement that:

> Our paper will be issued in the shape of the present sheet until the main office opens up at Green River City, 250 miles west of here. It will not be many days before we have a daily running there.

And our next record of the *Index* finds it stopping for two months or so at Green River.

Laramie did not vanish with the passing on of the railhead,

[16] According to W. E. Chaplin, *Some of the Early Newspapers of Wyoming*, in Wyoming Historical Society *Miscellanies*, Laramie, 1919, p. 9, the *Frontier Index* at Laramie was printed "in a log building at the corner of Second and Garfield streets."

but after the *Index* left, it was nearly a year before that town was deemed capable of supporting a newspaper of its own. The *Cheyenne Leader* of March 29, 1869, gives us the first intimation of what was coming: "A new paper is about to be established at Laramie. We understand it is to be of Republican faith." The *Leader* was in a good position to know all about the new Laramie paper, since it was an enterprise of Nathan Baker, the owner of the *Leader*. Some rumors of this fact must have become public, for the *Leader* saw fit to announce in its issue of April 21st, even before the Laramie paper began: "The *Sentinel* of Laramie is an entirely separate business enterprise, merely being under the same ownership in part as the *Leader*."

The first issue of the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* appeared on Saturday, May 1, 1869. No file of the issues of its first year has been found,[17] but the exact date of its birth is known from the *Cheyenne Leader* of Monday, May 3, 1869:

> The Laramie *Sentinel* is the title of a new 20-column daily paper established at Laramie City, Wyoming, the first issue of which was published on Saturday last. The *Sentinel* is printed on entirely new material and presents a handsome typographical appearance.

Though it is Republican, the *Leader* tells us, its politics are secondary to the *Sentinel's* primary purpose of advertising the interests of Laramie City. A reminiscent article in the *Sentinel* of May 1, 1872, recalls that the first issue was printed "on the little Gordon press, a five column sheet."

Nathan A. Baker was the owner of the *Sentinel*, but he disposed of it after one year:

> On Saturday last [says the *Leader* of Monday, May 2, 1870], which was the expiration of one year from the commencement of that paper, the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* was sold to Messrs. Hayford and Gates, formerly of this city.

James H. Hayford will be remembered as the "gentleman of the legal profession" who became local editor of the *Rocky Moun-*

[17] The Carnegie Library of Laramie has a good file of the *Sentinel* beginning May 2, 1870, the first issue of the second volume.

tain Star at Cheyenne in June, 1868. James E. Gates has already been mentioned as an anonymous associate of Nathan Baker's in establishing the *Cheyenne Leader* in September, 1867. From the salutatory of the new owners in the *Sentinel* of May 2, 1870, the earliest issue of that paper which has been found, we learn that the two had been associated with the Laramie newspaper from its inception. The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* was continued by Hayford and Gates until 1895, when its publishers, full of years and of honors, suspended its publication at the end of its twenty-sixth volume. No other newspaper made a start at Laramie until after 1870.

South Pass City

South Pass City, the fifth Wyoming point at which printing was undertaken, was one of the most colorful localities to appear in the history of the press in the far west. The mineral resources of the upper Sweetwater River were first explored by prospectors in 1857.[18] In 1861 a gold-mining camp was settled at the location which became South Pass City. In the immediate vicinity appeared other settlements of miners — Atlantic City and (hopeful name!) Miners' Delight. In 1867 the population of the region was approximately 3,000, and approximately 5,000 more were added in 1868. Here, surely, was a promising location for a pioneer newspaper.

But the first South Pass newspaper was not able to make its beginning at that place, because the Sweetwater region was inaccessible when its publication was first projected. We first learn of it from the *Cheyenne Leader* of January 14, 1868:

> From their prospectus, we learn that Messrs. Hazard and Warren, lately connected with the Salt Lake *Vedette*, are to start a tri-weekly paper at the Sweet Water Mines, about the first of next month.

[18] Grace Raymond Heberd. *Washakie, an Account of Indian Resistance of the Covered Wagon and Union Pacific Railroad Invasion of their Territory*, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930, pp. 128-131.

But Messrs. Hazard and Warren could not get to the place at which they intended to start their paper; in the *Leader* of February 7th we read:

> Messrs. Warren & Hazard are at Ft. Bridger with the printing office of the *Sweetwater Mines*, which paper will be issued semi-weekly at that point until the possibility of the roads will allow of its being transported to the immediate vicinity of the "golden gulches" of the Sweetwater.

And the *Leader* of February 17th further reports that:

> By a private letter from J. E. Warren, one of the proprietors of the *Sweetwater Mines*, we learn that the first issue was to have appeared some time the latter part of last week.

And the first issue of the *Sweetwater Mines* did then appear at Fort Bridger. The *Leader* of February 19th welcomed it as follows:

> We are in receipt of the first number of the new paper just commenced by Messrs. Warren and Hazard in the new gold region. It is issued three times a week, being published for the time being at Ft. Bridger, the amount of snow encountered preventing its being taken into the heart of the Sweetwater Mines at present. The paper is handsomely gotten up typographically, and is edited with marked ability and refreshing vigor. We extend to it our heartiest greeting and wish it abundant prosperity.

The publishers of the *Sweetwater Mines* have been identified as J. Edward Warren and Charles J. Hazard. An excellent file of the paper was brought to light in 1935, after extended search, in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.[19] This file, consisting of thirty-four rather scattered issues, shows by the serial numbering that it appeared at Fort Bridger as a semi-weekly, instead of three times a week as the *Leader* reported, and that its first issue was probably dated Saturday, February 15, 1868.

Warren and Hazard had to tarry in Fort Bridger until April before they could plan to move their printing equipment. Then

[19] See my article, *The Sweetwater Mines, a Pioneer Wyoming Newspaper*, in *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 2, June, 1935, pp. 164-165.

the *Leader* of April 24, 1868, tells us: "The *Sweetwater Mines* of the 18th is the last number of the paper which will be issued at Bridger. The office will be moved to South Pass City immediately." But on May 23rd the *Leader* says "The *Mines* has not yet started but will be out in a few days." Finally, on May 29, 1868, the *Leader* was able to report that "The *Sweetwater Mines* has resumed publication at South Pass City."

These reports in the *Leader* give the impression that the *Sweetwater Mines* suspended publication at Fort Bridger with the issue of April 18th and did not resume at South Pass City until late in May. The Bancroft Library file of the paper contains no issues dated within this interval, but the serial numbering of the issues present seem to indicate that it appeared weekly, probably at Fort Bridger and until May 9th, and then skipped two weeks before it began again at South Pass City as a semi-weekly on May 27th.

On June 27, 1868, there appeared an issue dated both June 24 and June 27. After that, and as long as it remained at South Pass City in that year, it appeared weekly. With the issue of August 8th the name of J. E. Warren was dropped and Charles J. Hazard appeared alone as editor. The *Leader* of August 20th had learned that "the *Sweetwater Mines* suspended publication last week." There are no issues in the file between August 8 and November 25.

On November 25, 1868, the *Sweetwater Mines* evidently made a new start with volume 2, no. 1. But it had left South Pass City, perhaps to escape the severity of winter in that region.

> The Sweetwater Mines newspaper of this name [says the *Leader* of December 1, 1868] has resumed publication, this time at Bryan, in this territory. We are in receipt of the first and second numbers since the removal.

At Bryan, the file shows, the paper appeared as a semi-weekly with Charles J. Hazard as publisher and editor.

After the first few weeks at Bryan, the *Sweetwater Mines* reverted to the status of a weekly, to judge from the serial num-

bering of extant issues. It moved back to South Pass City on February 24, 1869, according to the *Cheyenne Leader* of March 19th, and there continued for a time as a weekly. Its issue of June 19th, vol. 2, no. 35, which is the latest issue in the Bancroft Library file, bore no name of publisher, editor, or printer, but contained an ominous notice to the effect that C. J. Hazard, who had been its publisher, was summoned to appear "at the first session of the 2d Judicial Court for Carter County, Dakota Territory,"[20] on June 22nd to answer for an indebtedness to W. F. Edwards for $534.51 and costs of suit.

The South Pass newspaper, however, did not at once collapse. The *Leader* of June 24, 1869, contained some items clipped from it. And while this article was still in preparation I finally succeeded in locating a still later issue of the *Sweetwater Mines*. Traced from point to point after first seeing it mentioned in an auction catalogue in 1939, the issue of July 14, 1869, vol. 2, no. 40, was found at length in the Denver Public Library. This issue gives no information as to its publisher or printer, but brazenly calls itself "the Pioneer Newspaper of Wyoming Territory, . . . published every Wednesday and Saturday, at South Pass City, W. T." It also proclaims that

> The Mines contains all the Latest News of Public Importance from East and West, as well as a correct record of events transpiring in the Sweetwater Country in relation to the development of the Mineral and Agricultural resources of this section, together with all the Local news in and about Bryan, also the most Reliable Information in regard to the advancement of the Union Pacific Railroad, thus making it one of the most desirable and valuable journals in the West.

In spite of these pretensions, the *Sweetwater Mines* probably perished with, or immediately after, the issue just quoted. No further mention of it is found in the columns of its contemporaries.

[20] Carter County, later renamed Sweetwater County, formed the extreme western portion of the territory of Wyoming when created in July, 1868, and extended from the southern to the northern boundary. The new territorial government, however, was not yet functioning at the date of this summons.

But South Pass City, still swarming with miners in 1869, was too good a newspaper field to be overlooked by so enterprising a publisher as Nathan Baker. In his *Leader* of July 31, 1869, we find the following announcement:

> The *South Pass Advocate*, under the ownership of the proprietor of this paper and the Laramie Sentinel, will be ready to issue in about ten or twelve days. The office material is mainly new and it will be thoroughly prepared to do all the work the business of that section may require. The new paper will be the same size as the *Leader*.

But before the second South Pass newspaper began publication its name was changed to *South Pass News*. Very recently I have received from the Denver Public Library a report of a copy of what seems to be the only surviving issue of this paper, vol. 1, no. 23, October 27, 1869, "Published every Wednesday and Saturday by Baker & Russell, N. A. Baker — S. W. Russell: N. A. Baker, Proprietor." Calculating semi-weekly issues back from this date, we arrive at August 11, 1869, as the probable date of its beginning. And the *Cheyenne Leader* of August 14, 1869, reported that the *South Pass News*, the *Leader*, and the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* had been designated by the Republican territorial convention as the authorized party organs in Wyoming. *Rowell's Newspaper Directory* for 1870 records the *News* as a semi-weekly appearing on Wednesdays and Saturdays, with S. W. Russell as editor and publisher and with a circulation of "about 400."

In the *Leader* of January 24, 1870, we read that the "*South Pass News* comes to us greatly enlarged and improved." The *Wyoming Tribune* of April 15, 1871, reported that the *News* "comes printed on colored paper"—a hint of a shortage such as was more or less typical of frontier newspapers. On May 20, 1871, the *Leader* tells us that "A. B. Conway, Esq., the able editorial head of the South Pass *News* for a year past, has retired from that position and is succeeded by Mr. E. A. Slack." And on June 27th the *Leader* reported that "the South Pass *News* has recently been purchased by Mr. E. A. Slack, a lawyer of that place."

The population of the mining communities on the Sweetwater River diminished rapidly after the boom days of 1868-1869. In 1870, we are told, there were only about 2,100 persons in the entire valley.[21] The region soon proved to be unable to support a newspaper. The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of July 11, 1871, reported, with evident pleasure:

> The South Pass *News* comes to us printed on a piece of wrapping paper about as big as a man's hand, and promises us the next issue "printed on a shingle." This would certainly be an improvement [the *Sentinel* ungraciously continues], and more in keeping with the eternal fitness of things, that the basswood ideas of its wooden-headed editor should be circulated through the medium of a shingle.

The end came about two months later; the *Leader* of September 25, 1871, gave the sad news:

> The South Pass *News* has suspended publication. Mr. Slack, its editor, has made an exceptional paper of it since his connection with the *News* but says the amount of patronage will not warrant him in continuing its publication.

With the demise of the *News*, South Pass City disappeared from journalistic history. E. A. Slack, its last publisher, moved to Laramie and began the *Laramie Daily Independent* there on December 26, 1871. Slack lived to play an important part in Wyoming politics as well as in journalism, but his career falls outside the scope of this article.

A Record of Printing at Benton

While this paper was in preparation, there came to hand a photostatic copy of the *Frontier Index* of August 11, 1868, printed at Green River. This photostat had been procured simply for the purpose of verifying the first appearance of the *Index* at Green River, and it was somewhat unexpected, therefore, to find in it an explicit account of a press at work at a Wyoming point which apparently has not hitherto been recorded as the site, even temporary, of a printing plant.

[21] Grace Raymond Heberd, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

In a highly interesting account of his journey from Laramie to Green River, the editor of the *Index*, in his first Green River issue, tells of his arrival at

> the new military tent camp known as Fort Steele, on the North Platte river . . . and also in the town of Benton, two miles west of the river, on a flat surrounded by barren hills.

The writer goes on to say:

> There are perhaps, three thousand people in and around Benton and many trains outfitting for Green River. . . . Business was so lively that we telegraphed the Laramie edition of our paper, to wheel on at once to Benton, and we since learn that our new power press is threshing out the work there.

No record has yet been found of any work done by the "new power press" at Benton. If some issues of the *Index* were printed there, after the last recorded Laramie issue of July 21, 1868, no trace of them remains. But the foregoing evidence seems to show that the press was "threshing out the work" at Benton even before the first newspaper was printed at Green River. On this showing, Benton (which, I believe, no longer exists) is entitled to sixth place in the record of Wyoming printing points.

Green River

Green River became the seventh Wyoming printing point when the restless *Frontier Index* paused there for about two months in 1868. The *Cheyenne Leader* of August 16, 1868, reported that "the Press on Wheels now comes to us from Green River City." The file of this paper in the Bancroft Library contains a copy of the issue of August 11, 1868, from Green River, which was the first issue there. That issue was from Green River, "D.T. [Dakota Territory]" but the issue of August 28th changed the name of the territory to Wyoming.[22]

[22] We might note at this point that Leigh Freeman, one of the Freeman brothers who published and edited the *Frontier Index*, is said to have influenced the choice of the name "Wyoming" for the new territory. According to Julius Sterling Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, Lincoln, 1907-1913, vol. 2, p. 369, "It was at the

The Bancroft Library file of the *Index*, as well as allusions to that paper in the columns of its Wyoming contemporaries, show that Green River was the place of its publication at least until October 13, 1868. The next issue in the file, dated October 30th, was published at Bear River.

After the *Index* moved onward, it was nearly nine years before another press appeared at Green River. In the *Cheyenne Leader* of March 3, 1877, we find mention of the successor of the *Index* — the *Green River Press*.

Bear River

Bear River, which now appears on the maps as Knight, in the extreme southwestern corner of Wyoming, was the eighth site of printing in the state and also the last stop of the *Frontier Index*. Beginning with its issue of October 30, 1868, the *Index* appears there twice a week until the end of November. The *Index* strongly advocated the maintenance of law and order. On November 27th a resentful mob of the lawless element of the camp attacked the *Index* office, burned its building, and destroyed its presses, just as the issue of that date was about to be printed. The *Index* never resumed publication after that disaster.

Bryan City

Bryan City, which we identify with Bryan, a point on the Union Pacific about fifteen miles west of Green River, was the refuge of the *Sweetwater Mines* from South Pass City in the winter of 1868. The issue of November 25, 1868, was probably the first to appear at Bryan; the *Cheyenne Leader* of December 1, 1868, acknowledges the receipt of the first two numbers since the removal of the *Mines* to that point. The paper continued to appear, probably twice a week, at Bryan until the latter part of

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suggestion of Leigh R. Freeman, editor of the *Index*, that the name Wyoming, which he took from Wyoming Valley [Pennsylvania], was given to the territory in which his peripatetic journal finally settled."

February, 1869. The *Leader* of March 19, 1869, reported that the *Sweetwater Mines* had resumed publication at South Pass City "on the 24th ult." With this three months' sojourn of the *Mines*, Bryan City became the ninth Wyoming point at which printing was done.

Fort Steele

Fort Steele, located at the point where the Union Pacific crosses North Platte River, had a press in March, 1869, and is therefore recorded as the tenth Wyoming printing point. So far as our present knowledge goes, it was also the last new point in the state at which printing was undertaken before 1871.

But the story of printing at Fort Steele is an exceedingly brief one. It is all told in the following, from the *Cheyenne Leader* of March 12, 1869:

> We are in receipt of the first number of the first volume of the *Ft. Steele Herald*, published weekly by Lowry & Bro. at Ft. Steele in this Territory. The number before us apologizes for being published on a half-sheet, 3 columns to the page.

Without a whisper of further evidence of its existence, we can quite safely assume that the *Herald* died in its early infancy.

Some Early Wyoming Imprints

Besides the newspapers recorded in the foregoing pages, the pioneer printers of Wyoming produced a number of books, pamphlets and broadsides. Only those which were produced before 1871 will be mentioned here.[23]

First is an extraordinarily interesting item, a rather crudely-printed little pamphlet of 33 unnumbered pages, with the heading, or caption title, *Dictionary of the Sioux Language*. This was compiled by two lieutenants of the United States Army, Joseph K. Hyer and William S. Starring, with the aid of Charles Guer-

[23] For a record of the output of the early Wyoming press, other than newspapers, see the American Imprints Inventory's *Check List of Wyoming Imprints, 1866-1890*, Chicago: The Historical Records Survey, 1941.

reu, an Indian interpreter. It is dated at "Fort Laramie, Dakota. December, 1866." In the opinion of the late Dr. Wilberforce Eames, in which I concur without hesitation, the crudity of the typography indicates that the *Dictionary* was printed on a little army press at that post on the North Platte River, in what is now Wyoming. Only about fifty copies of it were printed, and extremely few of them have survived. Among the survivors are the copies in the Henry E. Huntington Library, in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, and in the New York Public Library.

At the end of 1867 the *Cheyenne Leader* printed its first annual *Carrier's Address,* for distribution on New Year's Day, 1868, as a greeting to its patrons and also as a means of enabling the distributor of the paper to collect gratuities from the subscribers. No copy of this has been found, and hence we do not know whether it was printed as a pamphlet or as a broadside. But the *Leader* of December 7, 1867, gave advance notice of it, saying that "it will be written by a talented young lady of this city." It was mentioned again in the *Leader* of December 27th, and the issue of December 30th contained an extract from it, in the form of an ode to the Union Pacific Railroad, by C. Vincent Arnold. Finally, the *Leader* of December 31st gave notice that "Mr. Chas. V. Arnold, our efficient carrier," would call upon patrons with copies of the paper's first annual address. Should a copy of this ever come to light, it would be indeed a unique addition to the record of the early Wyoming press.

Next we note a product of the *Frontier Index* press at Green River, in the form of a broadside, about 7½ by 9¾ inches, containing three columns of text under the heading *Green River City Ordinances.* The ordinances were "Approved this 12th of August, 1868." There is no imprint of the printer, but there is no doubt that the pioneer city fathers of Green River took the earliest possible opportunity to have the *Index* establishment put their local

laws into printed form. The only recorded copy of this monument of frontier municipal law is in the collection of Mr. William R. Coe, of New York City.

Another souvenir of the *Index* press at Green River is a 24-page pamphlet entitled *A Vocabulary of the Snake, or, Sho-sho-nay Dialect,* by Joseph A. Gebow, interpreter. This bears the imprint "Green River City, Wg. Ter.: Freeman & Bro., Book and Job Printers. 1868." The form of the firm name in this imprint indicates that the pamphlet was produced in October of 1868; prior to that time the firm was "Freeman & Co."

According to the title-page, this issue of the *Vocabulary* was "Second edition, revised and improved, January 1st, 1864" and was evidently a "steal" from the genuine second edition, which was printed in 1864 at Camp Douglas, Utah.[24] Only six or seven surviving copies of this Wyoming rarity have been recorded.

At the end of 1868 the *Cheyenne Leader* printed its second annual *Carrier's Address,* to be ready for distribution on New Year's Day of 1869. No copy of this has been found, and all that is now known of it is an announcement in the *Leader* of January 4, 1869, that copies of it were "for sale at the Post Office."

Wyoming was erected into a territory, separate from Dakota Territory, in July, 1868, but the territorial government did not begin to function until the territorial officers arrived in May, 1869. The first election was held in September, and the first territorial legislature convened at Cheyenne on October 12th. The message of Governor John A. Campbell was printed in six columns of the *Cheyenne Leader* of October 13th and a little later was publisher by the *Leader* in the form of a 13-page pamphlet. At about the same time the *Cheyenne Daily Argus* published the message in a pamphlet of 12 pages. These two pamphlets are the first in the series of Wyoming official documents to appear in separately printed form.

[24] The first edition was Salt Lake City, 1859.

A VOCABULARY

OF THE

SNAKE,

OR,

SHO-SHO-NAY DIALECT

BY

JOSEPH A. GEBOW, Interpreter.

Second Edition,

Revised and Improved, January 1st, 1864.

GREEN RIVER CITY, W.G. TER.:
Freeman & Bro., Book and Job Printers
1868.

AN ACT

TO INCORPORATE

THE CITY OF CHEYENNE.

Passed at the First Session of the Wyoming Legislature.

Approved December 10th, 1869.

Wyoming Tribune Print.

"Excessively rare" is *An Act to Incorporate the City of Cheyenne*, approved December 10th, 1869, and published in an 8-page pamphlet by the *Wyoming Tribune* at Cheyenne, probably before the end of the year. The William R. Coe collection contains the only recorded copy of this item.

The *Carrier's Third Annual New Year's Offering to the Patrons of the Daily Evening Leader, January 1, 1870*, the earliest of these documents from a Wyoming press which is known to have survived, was a pamphlet of six pages and was printed, of course, in the last days of 1869. Examination of the file of the *Leader* revealed no mention of it. Only one copy of it has been reported.

The *Cheyenne Leader* of February 21, 1870, reported that its publisher, N. A. Baker, was printing 2,000 copies of an 8-page pamphlet on the Big Horn Mining Expedition, for free distribution. It is somewhat surprising that no copies of this pamphlet have ever been discovered. Except for this one announcement, there is apparently no record of it.

The *Wyoming Tribune*, established and owned by Edward M. Lee, the first territorial secretary, was naturally favored with the printing business of the territorial government. Thus — in spite of the fact that President Grant removed Lee from office in February, 1870 — we find the imprint of "S. Allan Bristol, Public Printer, Tribune Office" on the volume of *General Laws, Memorials and Resolutions of the Territory of Wyoming*, passed by the first territorial legislature, which was printed early in 1870. Bristol also printed, at the *Tribune* office, the *Council Journal* of the first legislature, and presumably the *House Journal* also, although, strange to say, no copies of the latter journal have been located.

From the *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of January 4, 1871, which acknowledged the receipt of a copy, we know that the *Wyoming Daily News*, at Cheyenne, printed a *Carrier's Address* for New Year's Day of that year. No copy of it, however, is known to exist. Incidentally, examination of the files discovers no mention of the publication of a *Carrier's Address* for 1871 by the *Cheyenne Leader*, nor do we know of any printed by other Wyoming newspapers which were current at that time.

This ends the record through December 31, 1870, the date arbitrarily determined for the conclusion of this survey.

AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH, ITS BEGINNING AND GROWTH[1]

By ALEXANDER J. WALL

THE study of genealogy in America had a fairly early but meagre beginning in printed form, but the family Bible which provided blank pages for entries of births, marriages and deaths was a method of keeping the family records which originated in the home countries from which the earliest settlers came. This cherished volume is to-day one of the chief sources in genealogical research.

It was many years after these Bible entries were first made that a family record was printed in America. In 1771 at Hartford, Connecticut, the earliest recorded genealogy was printed. It is the *Genealogy of the Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbins and Mrs. Hannah Stebbins*, a small 24-page book of which only seven copies are known to exist. In 1879 it was reprinted by the library committee of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, which was able to locate but two copies at that time.

In 1787 a large sheet containing a genealogical table of the Chauncey family was printed and from 1800 to 1830 some fourteen genealogical publications appeared in the northeastern states. Among the authors was a pioneer in genealogical science, John Farmer (1789-1838), who was corresponding secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. He issued a genealogical memoir of his own family printed in 1828 and *A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England* in 1829. The latter was

[1] Read at the Society's meeting held in New York City, June 29, 1942.

superseded in 1860-62 by James Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, but Farmer deserves recognition for pioneer work in using manuscript sources and local records in his researches.

The period from 1840 to 1850 marked the real beginning of extensive genealogical research and publication, principally in New England. In that decade the New England Historic Genealogical Society was incorporated and began to publish in 1847 its *Quarterly Register* which still flourishes. In this period fifty histories of individual American families were printed, while the Albany printing firm of Joel Munsell (which started in 1828) commenced the service of printing genealogies.

In 1848 Jerome B. Holgate's *American Genealogy* was printed by Joel Munsell, containing accounts of several prominent New York families, and this publication remained the chief printed source in New York research for the next forty years.

In the same year appeared the first edition of Robert Bolton's *History of Westchester County*, with genealogical data of that locality; Royal R. Hinman and Judge Nathaniel Goodwin made contributions to the histories of Connecticut families in 1852 and 1856 respectively;[1] and in 1857 Bishop Meade contributed to southern genealogy with his two volumes on *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia.* In 1860-62 there appeared that cornerstone of New England family history, James Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*, in four volumes. The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society was incorporated in 1869, and immediately began to publish the quarterly *Record* which has continued ever since.

By 1862 the progress of genealogy was recognized by the first bibliography devoted to that advancing science when William H. Whitmore, a member of the publication committee of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, compiled *A Handbook of American Genealogy, being a Catalogue of Family Histories and Pub-*

[1] Royal R. Hinman. *A Catalogue of the Names of the Early Puritan Settlers of Connecticut;* Nathaniel Goodwin. *Genealogical Notes or Contributions to the Family History of Some of the First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts.*

lications containing Genealogical Information. This pioneer bibliography was printed in Albany by Joel Munsell in an edition limited to 100 copies, with a list of subscribers. Whitmore arranged the genealogies chronologically, with helpful critical notes describing and evaluating each item. He listed 108 individual family histories, printed from 1771 through 1861, and 62 local histories, collections of genealogies, etc. Whitmore's "Introduction" discussed the science of genealogy in England and America, its sources and pitfalls, and noted the remarkable advance in the period between 1845 and 1861 in publishing state and local records, in insistence of genealogists on documentary proof, and in more methodical arrangement of data. It is a temptation to quote at length his remarks on genealogy, because so many of them are pertinent to-day.

A second edition of Whitmore's *American Genealogist* (with the publications arranged chronologically) appeared in 1868, and a third in 1875. The fourth edition, prepared by the publishers, Joel Munsell's Sons, was printed at Albany in 1897, and a fifth in 1900. The later catalogues listed the family histories alphabetically, for the more convenient use of genealogists. It is interesting to trace the increase in the number of printed genealogies. Whitmore's first edition of 1862 included 170 entries altogether. Munsell's fourth edition, in 1897, only 35 years later, listed about 2,300 genealogical titles. In 1910, the Library of Congress printed a list of its American and English genealogies and there were 3,750 entries. Nine years later, in 1919, the Congressional Library possessed 6,965 American and English genealogies. In 1935 the late Emma Toedteberg compiled a printed catalogue of the 8,202 printed genealogies of American families (American alone) in the Long Island Historical Society Library. To-day, the number of printed American genealogies is probably well over 10,000, exclusive of local histories containing genealogical data, periodicals, and collective works.

Whitmore's *Handbook of American Genealogy* in 1862 was the

first systematic attempt to guide genealogists through the increasing array of printed works in their field. In 1868, another helpful contribution to research was made by Daniel S. Durrie, formerly of Albany, then librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Durrie compiled an alphabetical index to American genealogies and pedigrees contained in state, county, and town histories, and it was published by the ever-faithful Joel Munsell at Albany. A second edition was printed in 1878 and the index work was continued by Joel Munsell's Sons, with new editions in 1886, 1895, and 1900, and a supplement in 1908.

With the advent of patriotic societies, first the Sons of the Revolution, instituted in 1876 and reorganized in 1883, at the centennial of the American Revolution, the subject of genealogy took on a significance before unknown. It inspired Americans with a renewed interest in the founding and fighting fathers from whom they were descended. The organization of patriotic societies, requiring proved lines of descent for eligibility to membership, was an added incentive to exact genealogical investigation. Membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, instituted in 1783, descended from father to son, requiring little research, but other societies, formed years after the period, Colonial or Revolutionary, on which membership was based, and allowing descent through female as well as male lines, required more extensive genealogical work.

To meet the requirements of a correct line of descent, there was an ever increasing demand for vital records throughout the eastern seaboard, so that the publications of the births, marriages and deaths of the towns of early settlement, grew with each passing year.

As interest in genealogy grew, the printing of local histories, town and state records, and research aids increased, and as published sources became more general, more and more searchers engaged in genealogy, in an endless and broadening circle. Genealogical interest spread both in New England and in other states to the south and west.

The desire to trace the connection between America and Europe was early recognized in genealogical publications. In 1856 there was printed at Harrisburg the first edition of I. Daniel Rupp's *Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss etc. Immigrants in Pennsylvania, 1727-1776;* the New England Historical and Genealogical Register printed the *Result of some Researches among the British Archives for information relative to the Founders of New England, made in the years 1858, 1859, and 1860;* in 1874 appeared John Camden Hotten's *Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, etc. who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700;* and such work has since been carried on, e.g. by Charles Edward Banks.

The past few years have brought a great increase in the number of printed aids to those embarking on genealogical investigations. The National Genealogical Society, established in 1903, began its *Quarterly* in April, 1912, the Institute of American Genealogy its *Magazine of American Genealogy* in 1929, and there are other genealogical periodicals, besides the pioneer *Register* of New England and the *Record* of New York. There are recent guides for particular localities or religious beliefs, such as Earl G. Swem's *Virginia Historical Index,* 2 vols., 1934, 1936, and William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopaedia of American Quaker Genealogy,* 3 vols., 1936, 1938, 1940. A few of the many other aids may be mentioned. Donald Lines Jacobus contributed an *Index to Genealogical Periodicals;* F. A. Virkus, *Handbooks of American Genealogy;* the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, the *Mayflower Index;* and in 1936, there was begun the American Genealogical Index, on cards. This last work, carried on by a committee representing subscribing libraries, under the editorship of Fremont Rider, is to be expanded in book form, and the first volume, covering the names Aaron through Anthoney, appeared early this year, 1942.

America became extremely conscious of its past by the demands made upon every community for information about its church and town records, while the administrators of county seats

were besieged by the family genealogists in search of wills and deeds which help so much in filling out the family tree.

Two or three generations ago it was much more difficult to compile a genealogy than to-day. The records were not printed, tombstone inscriptions had not been copied as so many have since been put into typewritten form, so that it was necessary to travel to the communities where the ancestors lived and make first-hand researches in church and town records, and traverse the graveyard yourself in search of the departed whose dates you eagerly sought on the tombstone.

That you were not alone in such quests was soon learned, as I did in one instance, when I arrived at a railroad station in a small town and asked the direction to a gentleman's home who was well known as a genealogist. The youth of whom I inquired called to a fellow worker, shouting, "Here's a guy looking for his ancestors." I was quite shocked that my quiet quest should be so publicly hailed.

And while speaking in the lighter vein on this subject, let me relate a charming repartee from a letter I addressed about the year 1910 to a genealogist whose first name was difficult to decipher so that I was uncertain of it, but it looked like Marion, whereas it was Marcus. So in addressing the gentleman as Miss Marion, there came an immediate reply which read: "In these days of the Suffragettes which make men ever watchful of their prerogatives, I cannot allow the family genealogist to deprive me of all with one stroke of the pen."

The search for ancestors had a stimulating effect in the field of books, since it brought about the countless volumes of local and county histories in every state of the Union and I should venture to say that few counties in all the states are without published histories. The earlier histories were gathered and published by men and women who had a genuine interest in the subjects of their study. Many genealogical data were often included in these heavy county histories to which we must turn when starting our

genealogical researches. True, they were not scholarly works in the light of our present-day standards, but they have preserved much of our local history which would otherwise have been lost. They were published in the period 1840-1850, during which county histories by local historians such as Eager's History of Orange County, N. Y., Joshua Clark's Onondaga County, Jones' Oneida County and Hough's St. Lawrence and Jefferson Counties were published. Then, after the centennial year 1876, followed an era of great activity by the professional publishers of county histories which were illustrated with engravings portraying stern-faced citizens and their prim wives, and pictures of residences in towns and on farms, with the owner's favorite horse and carriage sweeping along the driveway. These "mug" histories were general all over the United States in the 1880's and '90's; perhaps particularly popular in the Middle Western states. Later their methods included the combing of a locality with a prospectus of a proposed history in two to four volumes with one volume of biographical and genealogical data to follow, to which the principal inhabitants were requested to contribute their handmade accounts of themselves and families and then sign on the dotted line subscribing for the whole set at $25 to $50. If your egotism could be reached sufficiently, an engraved portrait of yourself could be included at a cost of $400. This sort of county history was a sure fire success for the publisher and has been and still is carried on most extensively throughout the United States. The histories turned out in this process are a varied lot in that in some instances recognized men of historical ability were induced to undertake the editorship of a work for their locality with which they were fully familiar and welcomed the opportunity to put in print the material they had gathered. In many other cases the history part of the work was a mediocre bit of research. Of course the biographies and genealogies were for the most part the work of some member of the family. However, even this sort of publication has value in that the family might not otherwise have

been placed on record and it is better to be than not to be.

Let us, therefore, evaluate the sources for genealogical research in the order of their importance and thereby suggest the procedure for those entering upon this field.

Our first rule is to make sure you give a reference for everything you copy. You will save trial and tribulation by that simple act.

The two authentic sources for research are the wills and deeds of any locality. It is to be expected that a man's will should tell us the correct name of his wife and children and perhaps other relatives, while the deed to the land he owns will record accurately the place he lived and oftentimes the place where he previously resided or came from.

Here then we have a start on firm ground. For dates of births, marriages and deaths we turn to —

1. The family Bible, which is an excellent and accurate source, providing the entries were made contemporaneously with the events. Many Bible records were gathered and entered years later by one person interested in such matters, who desired to create a family Bible and thus had to rely on other sources for the dates.
2. Church records, which were generally written contemporaneously by a clergyman whose accuracy of entry is to be expected.
3. Town vital records written by the town clerk, who often misspelled names, and if the records were later printed we must allow for three possibilities of errors in the transition from the information first given the clerk to the printed page years later.
4. Tombstone inscriptions where many errors have been made by the family giving the data and the cutter who cut the stone. Oftentimes years elapsed before the tombstone was erected, which increased the possibility of error.

From these sources most genealogical data are gleaned. Since it is estimated that between ten and twelve thousand genealogies have been printed in book form, one should first make inquiry to learn if anything has been printed about the family one is in search of, either in separate form or in any of the many genealogical magazines that have been issued. To these there are, to a large extent, indices previously referred to, which will bring to light the countless partial studies in family history which may help the researcher. There are other sources for the advanced student of genealogy to search, such as Court records, family letters, and old newspapers.

While it is to be expected that a New York famliy would likely appear in a New York periodical, this is not to be relied upon as conclusive, since some member may have wandered to Utah at some period and, becoming a leading citizen, aroused the interest to seek out his New York forebears and lo, the New York family gets its record in print in a Utah genealogical publication or anywhere else as the case may be.

Therefore, failing to find any record of your line of descent already published, you must take up the study of the locality in which the subject lived, first in a town history or record, then county histories and, in large centers where tax lists or directories were published, one must search to locate the name. That established, the wills and deeds are searched and the dragnet is on. It is my belief that with patience and intelligence, one can find one's line of descent even when faced with some loss of records by fire or other destruction.

The study of genealogy for whatever purpose is truly remarkable, in fact it is the outstanding research work carried on throughout the United States. In my recent visit to many historical societies and libraries from the East coast to the West and checking their resources, nearly all remarked that they had outstanding genealogical collections and that more calls for such books were made than on any other subject. While most of the

research work may be of family interest alone, still there is no denying that the study of genealogy has led to many books on American history much more profound than the ancestor quest.

On the other hand, the historian has had equal need to delve into genealogical research in many steps on the way to his interpretation of America's past. After all, the people make history, and the background of individuals often explains their actions and beliefs, so that the family data are indispensable to the historian even though he may not recognize it in the subject of genealogy.

The desire to find the earlier line of descent in European countries, principally Great Britain, Holland and France, led to the publication of many parish registers in England and family records of the Dutch and French. In these publications, the American genealogist hunted for the connecting link between that "certain come-overer" and his European forebears. The link was only rarely forged.

AUTHORS OF PAPERS IN THIS ISSUE

Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, President of the Society in 1938-1939, retired in July, 1941, from The New York Public Library.

Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, well-known typographer and historian of printing, conceived and for several years directed the American Imprints Inventory.

Mr. Alexander J. Wall is Director of the New York Historical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by Frederick R. Goff, Howard S. Mott, David A. Randall, E. Millicent Sowerby, Lewis M. Stark, and Edwin E. Willoughby.

Incunabula

INCUNABULA AND FINE PRINTING IN ARGENTINA

Apropos of the recent good-will tour to the libraries of our country, made by Dr. Teodoro Becu of Buenos Aires on behalf of the Argentine government, it is worthy of note that in his *Catalogo de la Exposicion del Libro,* there appeared a section on fine printing in Argentina from 1781 to 1940, and another comprising the record of all the incunabula registered in the Republic. Now that our scholars no longer have access to European libraries, it is especially helpful to know what fifteenth-century books are available in our hemisphere.

The volume, published in 1940 under the auspices of the Argentine Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, and sponsored by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Argentinos, was issued in commemoration of the invention of printing. It lists, in considerable bibliographical detail, nearly seven hundred volumes, covering five hundred years of printing, and gathered from various collectors and libraries, for exhibition in the Exposition of Books with which Argentina, so impressively and appropriately, celebrated the anniversary.

At the beginning of the volume is a carefully prepared essay by Dr. Becu on the evolution of the art of printing. In the appendix are lists of authors, printers, places of imprint, bibliographies, and owners, with a special section giving the register of incunabula.

This comprises a short-title list of over four hundred and fifty incunabula, fully thirty of which are not to be found in our *Second Census* of early printed books on this continent, and several other titles await further identification. One of the most interesting will doubtless prove to be the treatise *De maleficiis* by Angelus de Gambilionibus. When entered by Dr.

Klebs as 435.12 in his *Incunabula Scientifica et Medica*, no copy of this edition was known. Incidentally, in the handsomely printed large-paper edition of Dr. Becu's *Catalogo* occurred the first instance in which notations from our *Second Census* were cited, the necessary data having been sent him while both books were on the press.

The following items, quoted from the large-paper or second issue of the *Catalogo*, are those not found among the editions listed in the recent census of incunabula in North America:

Albertus Magnus. De intellectu et intelligibili. [Leipzig: Martin Landsbergh, 1489/96.]
GW 615; Hain 498-500; Proctor 2959; BMC III 638.

—— Secreta mulierum et virorum. Paris: Jean Petit. Variante del número 378 de Pellechet.

Angelus de Clavasio. Summa Angelica de casibus conscientiae. [Lyon: Michel Topié,] 15 julio 1496.
GW 1941; Copinger 1665.

Antoninus Florentinus, S. Summa defecerunt, en romance. [Burgos: Fabrique de Basilea, circa 1494.]

Aristoteles. Les ethiques, en françoys. [Paris: Pierre Le Rouge para Antoine Verard,] 8 septiembre 1488.

Bartolomeo Miniatore. Formulario de epistole vulgar, etc. Venecia: Bernardinus Benalius, 22 abril 1488.
Raro: No está en Hain, Copinger, Accurti, Brunet, Proctor, Huntington, BMC. Olschki, "Mon. typographica," 1090, cita otra edición de 1495, por Alfredo de Monsera; y L. Rosenthal, Cat. 105 nº. 965, una de 1492.

Bernardus Parmensis. Casus longi super quinque libros decretalium. [Lyon: Guillaume Le Roy, circa 1485.]
GW 4098; Copinger 999; Pellechet 2191.

Bonaventura, S. (Pseudo.) Amour divine (Stimulus amoris). Paris: Anthoine Cayllaut [1498?]. El incipit igual a Pellechet 2667 y GW 4829. (I+XCIII+2 ff., gótico-bastardo, 142 x 92 mm., igual a Claudin I 329; 5 grabados sobre madera . . .)

Cora, Ambrosius de. Oratio de Johannis Apostoli laudibus. [Roma: Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck, circa 1478.]
Hain 5688; BMC IV 69.

Corpus Iuris Civilis. Iustiniani Institutiones. [Lyon: Perrin Le Masson,] 24 abril 1494.
GW 7633; Hain 9531.

Epistole, Lezioni et Evangeli. Venecia: Nicholas Jenson, 1476.
Hain 6633; Pellechet 4610; no está en el B.M.C.

(Evangelarium.) Evangelien und Episteln . . . Augsburgo: Erhard Ratdolt, 1495.

Flors de Virtuts e de Costums. Gerona: Juan de Valdes, 9 noviembre 1497.
Haebler 276.

Francesco d'Assisi, S. Fioreti di misser sancto francesco . . . Venecia: Bernardino Benali, 11 junio 1493.

Gambilionibus, Angelus de. De maleficiis. Venecia: Andreas Calabrensis, 25 enero 1488. (1 + 102 ff.)
Hain 1629; no está en B.M.C., Huntington ni Morgan.

Gonetus de Prato. Facetia loquendi de multiplici statu mundi. [Lyon:] Pierre Mareschal y Bernabé Chaussard, 1496.
Hain-Cop. 7793; Pellechet 5273; Claudin IV 178 y 184.

Gregorius Magnus, S. Explanatio in septem psalmos poenitentiales. Paris: Jehan Petit [1496?]. (Marca de Jehan Barbier, en a^2.)

Guido de Cauliaco. Inventario o colectario en la pte. cirurgical de la medicina. Sevilla: Meinhardus Ungut y Stanislao Polono, 26 febrero 1498.
Muy raro: Hain-Cop. 4818; Haebler nº. 143; Méndez, pág. 102.

Herolt, Johannes. Sermonis discipuli. Lyon: Mathias Husz, 10 septiembre 1490.
Hain-Cop. 8500.

(Horas.) Heures a l'usage de Rome. Paris: Ph. Pigouchet para Simon Vostre, 9 junio 1487.

—— Heures a l'usage de Rome. Paris: Ph. Pigouchet para Simon Vostre, 8 agosto 1497.
Bohatta 559; Lacombe 41-42.

Jacobus de Voragine. Legende doree. [Lyon: Nicolas Philippe y Mar. Reinhart, 1481?]

—— Passionael (Zomerstuc). Delft: Christian Snellaert, 7 octubre 1489.

Martinus Polonus (Strepus). Margarita decreti. Paris: Jean Petit, circa 1500.
Hain 10852.

Mayno, Jason. De jure emphyteotico. Bolonia: Hugo Rugerius, 1481.
Hain 10960.

Missale Vratislaviense. [Estrasburgo: Johann Prüss, circa 1487.]

(Ordinarius Herbipolense.) Speyer: Peter Drach, 1477.

Bohatta 474; Alés 250.

Ordonnances Royaulx. Paris: Jehan Petit, 13 junio 1494.

(58 ff., 25 líneas, 105 x 63 mm., tipo gótico-bastardo.) Brunet IV 214 y Cat. Bib. Mazarina, pág. 332, citan otras ediciones posteriores a ésta.

Testamentum cuiusdam monachi Carthusiensis. Paris: [Jean Poitevin] para Englebert y Geoffroy de Marneff, [s.f., pero 1500].

No ha sido citado por los bibliógrafos, excepto Madsen: "Copenhague" nº. 3860.

Ximenez de Prexano, Pedro. Lucero de la vida Christiana. Salamanca: "Segundo Grupo Gótico," 4 julio 1493.

Hain 16244; Haebler 713.

— Margaret B. Stillwell

Ubertino da Busti. Compendio devotissimo [and other tracts]. Milan, Jacobus de Sancto Nazario and Philippus de Mantegatius, 7 Nov. 1496. 8°.

304 leaves. Sig.: A^{6}, B^{2}, a-b^{4}, c-z^{8}, 2^{8}, ?^{8}, 2f^{8}, A-G^{8}, h-m^{8} (y8 blank? lacking). 22-26 lines. Type, Sancto Nazario, 2:90G; Mantegatius, 4:105G; 5:87G. Device, *cf.* BMC 6:783. 51 woodcuts.

1a, with sig. A i: TABULA | Lo ꝯpendio deuotiſſimo de varie coſe fo.i. | 7a, with sig. B: Tabula ſopra la Regula de vita ſpirituale. | 8b, line 26: Cõcluſiõe oe larte de bẽ morire. fo. cclxxxxvi. | [indexes, 23-26 lines, printed by Mantegatius, type 87G] 9a, with folio number i, and sig. a: [woodcut of crucifixion, 66 x 63 mm.] ¶Compendio Deuotiſſimo de varie | coſe ſancte 2 ſpirituale. Hinc inde per | lo catolico 2 diuoto homo Ubertino | da Buſti: cõ ſumma carita recollecte 2 | inſudate. . . . | leaf b: el non va pero piu come ſignoꝛ̃ inanzi | [the "Compendio," 22-23 lines, printed by Sancto Nazario, type 90G] 177a, with fol. numb. clxxvi: [woodcut] | Queſti ſono li deci comandamenti de Dio. | E^{8}L primo nõ adoꝛare . . . | [23-25 lines, printed by Mantegatius, type 87G] 201a, with fol. numb. cc i, and sig. A: ¶Venerabilis ĩ chriſto patris fratris | Cherubini de Spoleto ordinis mino | rum Spiritualis vite compendioſa re | gula quedam hec eſt. | [22-23 lines, printed by Sancto Nazario, type 90G] 256a, with fol. numb. cclvi, line 18: Qui finiſſe queſta opa deuotiſſima | che ſi domanda regula ſpirituale | 256b: ¶Impreſſa ã Milano | per Jacomo de San | cto Nazaro de | la Rippa. | In lanno | che cor | re ĩ | M cccclxxxxvi. a di vij. | di Nouembre. | [printer's device, with initials: IAP] | 257a, with fol. numb. cclvij, and sig. h i: Incomincia el tractato de larte di | ben morire. | [22-24 lines, printed by Mantegatius, type 105G] 296a, with fol. numb. cclxxxxvi; line 9: . . . E queſto baſti | quanto al tractato 2 arte di ben mo | rire. | [woodcut] | 296b: C^{2}Redo in deum patrem omni | potentem creatorem celi 2 ter | re. . . . | line 18: Impreſſo in Milano p Magiſtro | Philippo ditto Gaſſano. |

Probably the "Compendio" was left unfinished by Sancto Nazario; Mantegatius added indices and supplementary material.

Bound in old brown morocco, lettered on spine: ESERCIZII | DI | DIVOZIONE | EDIT AN. | 1496. | The Olschki copy, described in his *Catalogue* 94, no. 892; in his *Choix de livres anciens*, 5 (1923), no. 5571; and in *Bibliofilia* 15: 424: 45. Apparently unique.

Mead, H. R. *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, 1937, no. 3544; *Second Census*, U 45.

— HERMAN R. MEAD

English Books, 1475-1800

[GOUDAR, ANGE]. L'Espion chinois: ou, L'Envoye secret de la Cour de Pekin, pour examiner l'Etat présent de l'Europe. Traduit du chinois . . . A Cologne, MDCCLXIV. 6 vols. 12mo.

GOUDAR, ANGE. L'Espion françois a Londres; ou, Observations critiques sur l'Angleterre et sur les Anglois. Par Mr. le Chevalier de Goudar, auteur de l'Espion Chinois . . . A Londres, Aux dépens de l'auteur, M.DCC. LXXX. 2 vols. 12mo.

Although the imprint of Goudar's *Espion chinois* reads "A Cologne," a reviewer in the *Monthly Review*, XXXI, 1764, p. 534, offers a more likely probability, observing that while it was "intimated, in the title-page, to have been printed abroad, [instead] of *A Cologne*, however, the printer should have inserted *A Londres*." The work was offered for sale by the firm of Becket and De Hondt.

In typography and format this edition of the *Espion chinois* is characteristically English, and there is little doubt that the unknown reviewer was quite correct, despite the fact that the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, and the Library of Congress have accepted the Cologne imprint given this and later editions of the work. Further weight is added to the probability of London publication by the fact that Goudar was at this time living there. A desire for mystification is sufficient explanation for the choice of a false imprint.

At the risk of appearing obsessed by the possibility of false imprints it may be pointed out that the edition of Goudar's *Espion françois* published in 1780 which carries for place of publication "Londres" was undoubtedly not printed there, even though the Library of Congress has accepted the London imprint. Typographically the work is as Continental as the *Espion chinois* was British. Ornate capitals and fanciful headpieces suggest that the work was printed in either Amsterdam or Paris, and of these the latter seems more likely. This is the opinion of the British Museum which, in its entry for the work (listed as a periodical, for the somewhat specious reason that the publication is in the form of letters!), supplies Paris as the actual place of issue. Inasmuch as Goudar was living in Paris at this time there is reason to accept this view.

— JOHN ELIOT ALDEN

Americana

The | Athenian Oracle, | The Second Edition, printed at London. 1704 | Vol. I. pp. 545-548. [Colophon:] *Boston of the Massachusetts; December 5. 1705.* | *Printed by Bartholomew Green, and are to be Sold by Samuel Phillips* | . . .

4 p. 8vo.

Evans 1199; *Sabin* 79440.

Sabin calls this "Judge Sewall's article or 'Question' concerning slavery stated and answered." A similar statement is made by Evans. Both are in error. Mr. Allyn B. Forbes of the Massachusetts Historical Society has compared the text of their copy with a copy of the third edition of *The Athenian Oracle* (London, 1706) and finds that the Boston edition of 1705 is as stated simply a reprint of pages 545-548 of the larger work. The question taken from the Oracle reads: Whether trading for negroes, *i.e.*, carrying them out of their own country into perpetual slavery, be in itself unlawful and especially contrary to the great law of christianity.

Mr. Forbes has the following comments to make on the erroneous attribution of this reprint to Sewall:

"My guess is that it is our copy of this reprint that is responsible for the attribution of authorship to Sewall. At the top of the first page there appears, in what may well be a contemporary handwriting, the following statement: 'Captain Sewall sent the following question over to the Athenian Society.' Over against this should be put the following from Sewall's letter of January 4, 1705/06 to Nathaniel Byfield, '. . . I have now reprinted the sentiments of the Athenian Society which I had not seen nor heard of till I saw it in a bookseller's shop last fall was 12 months.' There is a similar statement in Sewall's letter of April 13, 1706, to John Higginson, '. . . then I reprinted that question as I found it stated and answered in the *Athenian Oracle;* which I knew nothing of before late autumn was twelve months when I accidentally cast my eye upon it.' Certainly if Sewall's statements are taken at their face value, it can hardly be maintained that he was the author of this contribution to the *Athenian Oracle.*"

In addition to the copy in MHi, there is also a copy in DLC.

— Frederick R. Goff

The Renowned | History | of | Giles Gingerbread | A | Little Boy who lived upon Learning. | [Price Two Coppers.] | Boston: | Printed by Mein and Fleeming, — | | | -MDCCLXVIII. | | |

36 pp. Illus. 2¾ x 4 inches.

In his article on *John Mein, Publisher* (*Papers,* Vol. 36, 1942, pp. 199-214), Mr. John Eliot Alden listed several Mein imprints of which he was unable to locate copies. Our fellow member, Mr. Albert C. Bates, of the Connecticut Historical Society, now sends in the above entry for his own copy of one of the hitherto unlocated Mein imprints.

— Albert C. Bates

REVIEWS

BESTERMAN, THEODORE. *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies, By Theodore Besterman Volume I A-L* [*Volume II M-Z Index*] Printed for the Author at the University Press, Oxford, and Published by him at 98 Heath Street, London, N.W. 3. Sole Agents for North and South America The H. W. Wilson Company . . . New York, N. Y. 1939 [-1940]. 2 vols. Vol. 1: xxiv, 587, [1] pp. Vol. 2: [2] ll., 641, [3] pp. 10¾ x 7⅜ inches. £12/12/0.

Begun at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in January, 1940, the present review could not be completed till the reviewer found the opportunity, after his arrival in this country, to examine Volume II, published during the summer of 1940. But belated as it is, this attempt to appraise Mr. Besterman's monumental work may still fulfil a useful purpose. The *World Bibliography* has not been adequately reviewed outside Great Britain; also it is likely to remain for many years to come on the reference shelves of the few libraries which could afford the high, although entirely justifiable, price of £12.12*s*.

But will it be frequently used? The answer to such a question is the criterion of every bibliographical work. Bibliography cannot be an art for its own sake; its merits must be judged solely by the standards of its usefulness for a definite purpose. I am afraid that the actual use of the *World Bibliography* will by no means be commensurate with the immense labor involved in its compilation.

The author's aim was to bring up to date Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca Bibliographica*, which has never been surpassed. The shortcomings of the later attempts made by Vallée (1883-1887) and Stein (1897) are well known to all scholars and librarians. Like Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca*, the *World Bibliography* endeavors to give information on all subjects. But since Petzholdt's days, the output of printed matter has increased a hundredfold. The number of bibliographies has grown to such proportions that the library composed exclusively of the bibliographical handbooks and guides published to date would comprise more volumes than were to be found in an average German university library in Petzholdt's lifetime.

This growth of scientific literature compels specialization. Nor has the latter tendency remained confined to research alone. Learned societies and libraries, as well as periodicals and reference books, are being more and more established or reorganized as units concerned only with one

branch (or several closely related branches) of human knowledge. The great "national" libraries whose universal character is a heritage of the past are setting up in increasing numbers special departments having specialized staffs and enjoying a wide administrative autonomy. The Library of Congress, or a university library like that of Columbia University, is today more a chain of specialized libraries than a "general" library in the traditional sense. Ignoring these trends, Mr. Besterman gives us, between the same covers, information on such diverse topics as dancing, numismatics, the preparation of pea-flour and suicide.

Experienced bibliographer that he is, Mr. Besterman knew of course that it would be impossible — especially for a scholar working single-handed — to establish a complete record of all existing bibliographies. He therefore limited his work to those that have been "separately published." He was well aware and he states in his Introduction that it is "somewhat illogical to limit ourselves in this way, since valuable bibliographies are occasionally published in periodicals and appended to general works." This principle of including only "separately published" bibliographies — as well as all other rules set forth in his lengthy Introduction — Mr. Besterman follows in the most rigid manner. He includes, for instance, numerous lists, reproduced from typewritten copy, some of them comprising only a few titles on a single sheet. He even mentions "for the sake of completeness," a "bibliography" of the Virgin Islands, consisting of the mention of *one* title on a single sheet.

This strict adherence to a rule based on a purely external criterion leads to astonishing results: we find the *Bibliografie české historie* [Current bibliography of Czech history] published by the *Český Časopis historický*, but the *Bibliografia historji polskiej* [Current bibliography of Polish history] and the *Bibliographie der Schweizergeschichte* are omitted because they are published as *supplements* to, respectively, the periodicals *Kwartalnik historyczny* and *Zeitschrift fur Schweizergeschichte*. Hans Drexler's *Bericht über Tacitus fur die Jahre 1913-1937* is included because it constitutes, by chance, a separate issue of the *Jahresberichte uber die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (fully recorded as a serial publication) but no mention is made of the other "Berichte" which form the contents of the more than 250 volumes of this invaluable publication.

Mr. Besterman's work is not restricted to bibliographies in the traditional and accepted meaning. He has endeavored to include lists of archive materials, calendars as well as the lists and abridgements of patent specifications issued by the patent offices. "It is sometimes forgotten," says Mr.

Besterman, "that a document is a document as much if it exists in single copy as if it has been multiplied to the four corners of the earth. Descriptions of manuscript material on a given subject . . . may be at least as important as bibliographies of the printed material on the same subject." Mr. Besterman seems to forget here his own definition of bibliography as "a list of books arranged according to some permanent principle." The purpose of a bibliography is to bring together information concerning the literature on a subject. This literature can generally be found in many places and a bibliography of dancing may be as useful to somebody in New York as to a scholar engaged in research in Buenos Aires. Manuscripts or written documents, on the other hand, exist in most cases in only one copy and can be perused (if a photographic or microfilm copy is not secured) only on the spot of their actual conservation. Books and articles are being published with the intent to diffuse ideas, knowledge, information; archive documents are records of human activity. The perusal and utilization of this source material is the concern of the specialist in a narrow field, the research worker only, although the elaboration of the investigations carried out with the help of this material may command the interest of scientists everywhere or even of the general public. In order to be consistent, Mr. Besterman should have also included catalogues of museum collections and lists of works of art. Are not cuneiform inscriptions, paintings and prints "documents" of the same order as those written on vellum or paper?

The *World Bibliography* is arranged according to subject, in alphabetical order of the subject headings and, under each heading, in chronological order. There is an "Index of authors and editors and of the titles of anonymous and serial publications." Mr. Besterman has given preference to the dictionary system over the traditional "logical" system of classification because "nothing is more remarkable than the rapidity with which systems of classification become obsolete." But so do subject headings. Thirty years hence, some of those used by Mr. Besterman will sound strange for the same reason that we now find antiquated the classification schemes, dating from those remote years before 1914, which contain no sections for the now so abundant literature on propaganda and psychological warfare, and which have nothing to say about "air-born troops" and "transfers of population."

Classification under subject headings obliges Mr. Besterman to mention a great number of titles twice or even more frequently, so that the number of entries is far superior to the number of titles included — about 25,000, according to a statement in the Introduction. This waste of space

could have been avoided by a "logical" system of classification, with a running number for each item and cross-references in a shortened form. Such cross-references as Mr. Besterman felt bound to give are few and inadequate.

The *World Bibliography* contains quite a number of personal bibliographies, although no effort has been made, according to the Introduction, to attain complete coverage on this point. It seems that a great part of this material could have been omitted altogether in view of the existence of Mr. Arnim's *Internationale Personalbibliographie* (*1850-1935*) published in 1936.

Mr. Besterman deserves much commendation for the recording of the exact (or, in some cases, approximate) number of entries in each bibliography. In the case of current bibliographies of which each subsequent volume is carefully set out, these indications permit us to elaborate our statement concerning the growth of the literature of almost every subject: The *Zoological Record,* Class Insectae, has grown from 500 items in 1876 to 3,515 in 1937; the *Astronomischer Jahresbericht* from 1,768 items in 1899 to about 4,000 in 1936, the *Index Medicus* from 25,000 in 1879 to 115,000 in 1935, the *Psychological Abstracts* from 2,730 in 1927 to 6,063 in 1937, and so on.

However much Mr. Besterman's approach to the problem of the bibliography of bibliographies appears to me to warrant condemnation (a problem which, in my opinion, can only be solved by analytical guides to a strictly limited field, but containing information concerning all substantial bibliographical data, wherever it may be located), he is to be congratulated on the minuteness of his investigations and the accuracy of his descriptions. The errors which I noticed are not worth mention in a short review of a work of such proportions. Misprints are few, even in Slavic titles.

Mr. Besterman's task was colossal. Something between 80,000 and 100,000 volumes have passed through his hands at the British Museum alone. He has also combed the holdings of some fifty other libraries in Great Britain and he has worked for some time at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The first-hand examination of all items is a guarantee that there are no "ghosts" in these two stout volumes.

Their format, printing and paper approach perfection, as we are accustomed to expect from books bearing the imprint of the Oxford University Press.

MARC JARYC

LUGT, FRITS. *Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques intéressant l'Art ou la Curiosité . . . Par Frits Lugt. Première Période vers 1600-1825.* La Haye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1938. [2] ll., xx, 496 pp. 12⅝ x 9⅞ inches. 40 Dutch florins.

One of the most useful reference sources for art historians, art and antique dealers, antiquarians, curators, librarians and collectors are catalogues of auction sales of art objects. Yet in spite of this acknowledged and recognized usefulness, no single class of printed material has received less care and thought in its arrangement, preservation and cataloguing.

In most libraries, if auction catalogues are treated as book material with full cataloguing, the expense, because of their number, becomes a hardship. If treated as serials, while cheaper, the lack of indices prevents any access to the material and it remains on the shelves unused. Welcome indeed, then, is the appearance of Mr. Lugt's excellent compilation. Here in convenient form and ready to use is an easily adapted catalogue to any collection of European art auction catalogues of sales before 1825.

The check list was compiled from the catalogues found in 127 libraries, both public and private, in Europe and America. Only four of the libraries, however, are in this country. They are: the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the Frick Art Reference Library, New York; the Metropolitan Museum, New York; and the New York Public Library. The others are in some eleven western European countries.

The list includes 11,022 numbered entries with enough indexed items to bring it to a total of 11,065 entries. These cover the period from July 5, 1616, the date of the first sale, to 1825. A second part, to include sales in the period 1825-1875, is promised by the compiler in his introduction, but it is this writer's understanding that work on the second volume has been suspended for the duration of the war. It is to be hoped that work will continue on it after the war.

The compilation is arranged in strictly chronological order, and the tabular form of entry adopted by Mr. Lugt is simple, easy to use and gives all essential information. Each page is divided into nine columns wherein is given for each catalogue the following data: entry number, date of sale, place of sale, owner's name, contents of sale, number of lots, auctioneer, pagination, and location of copies. These are self-explanatory except possibly two. The contents column briefly describes what type of art material was sold and the number of lots of each type.

The last column, giving location of copies, also indicates which copies, if any, are priced, named or otherwise annotated. This is an important feature. An auction catalogue that reveals the purchasers and the prices paid for each lot or item has considerably greater value than one without such annotations. They are particularly needed in research tracing the price history and the provenance of art objects.

The compiler has included an index of owners' names having nearly seven thousand entries, adding materially to the book's usefulness. Entry to the data in the list can thus be made in two ways: either by date of the sale or by the name of the collector.

It should be noted that only one American sale is listed, while catalogues of at least ten American sales before 1825 are known to exist and to be available in public libraries. That they were not included here is probably due to the small number of catalogue collections in this country that were checked as well as to the fact that most of these collections are in such chaotic arrangement as to make accurate checking difficult if not impossible.

It is unfortunate that those concerned with the publication of this very valuable reference tool saw fit to charge so much for it, its cost in this country being about twenty-five dollars per volume. This criticism has all the more point when we see similar compilations produced in America at little more than one-tenth the cost to the purchaser, of this volume.

HAROLD LANCOUR

PECKHAM, HOWARD H. *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library Compiled by Howard H. Peckham, Curator of Manuscripts.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1942. xvi, 403 pp. Front. (port.), plates. 10½ x 7¼ inches. $5.00.

In the year following the publication in book form of Karl Brown's invaluable *Guide to the Reference Collections of The New York Public Library,* it is gratifying to know that a comparable *Guide* — to the manuscripts of the Clements Library — has been issued by the University of Michigan Press. While the former work covers all the reference collections of the New York institution (comprising printed books, manuscripts, newspapers, prints, etc.), the latter deals with a much smaller field, and presents its material in a form indicated by the nature of the collections. What the two works have in common is that each indicates in a single volume what the collections comprise. Catalogues or calendars of these libraries in book

form would of course require many volumes; and there are naturally thousands of questions the answers to which are available in the catalogue rooms of these institutions, but are not available in the *Guides*. The *Guides*, however, contain answers to so many questions that their existence is indeed a blessing.

As Dr. Randolph G. Adams points out in his Foreword, Mr. Clements began his serious collecting of manuscripts with the purchase in 1921 of the papers of Sir William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne (who became Prime Minister near the end of the American Revolution). The acquisition of the Shelburne papers led to purchase of further important British manuscript collections relating to the Revolution, viz. those of Lord George Germain, William Knox, Lord Sydney, General Thomas Gage, General Sir Henry Clinton and others. Collections of American origin were also acquired, including the papers of Nathaniel Greene. While the library owns manuscripts on other subjects, ranging between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, the items relating to the American Revolution constitute the most important material in the collections.

In his Preface Mr. Peckham lists five questions which his *Guide* is designed to answer: "(1) What manuscripts do you possess? (2) What period of time and what events does a particular collection cover? (3) How large is each collection? (4) What writers are represented in such and such a collection? (5) Have you any letters by So-and-So?"

The material is described in 172 groups or collections which bear the names of the persons whose papers they are or who collected them. For each of these collections Mr. Peckham has indicated the bulk (number of volumes) and the period covered, and has regularly provided biographical sketches of the persons mentioned above, general descriptions of the collections themselves, and alphabetical lists of authors of letters and documents.

The body of the *Guide* comprises 275 pages, of which a rather large proportion is devoted to the lists of writers of letters and documents. Four appendices are devoted to (a) Topical and chronological lists of the collections, (b) Maps in the manuscript collections, (c) Phillipps manuscripts, and (d) Printed editions of Clements Library manuscripts. At the end is an Index of Names, requiring over a hundred pages and listing about 10,000 names.

The book has been attractively printed by R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company of Chicago. It contains six illustrations and is sturdily bound in red cloth. G. L. M.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* published *quarterly* at *New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1942.*

STATE OF *New York* }
COUNTY OF *New York* } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared *George L. McKay*, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the *editor* of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Editor *George L. McKay*	*290 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.*
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(Signed) GEORGE L. MCKAY, *Editor.*

Sworn and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1942.

(Signed) THOMAS C. DONOVAN.

[SEAL.] (My commission expires March 30, 1943.)

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